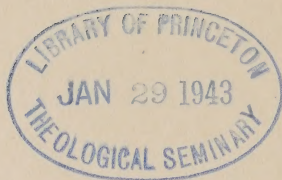


ARTHUR SELDEN LLOYD

Missionary-Statesman and Pastor

ZABRISKIE



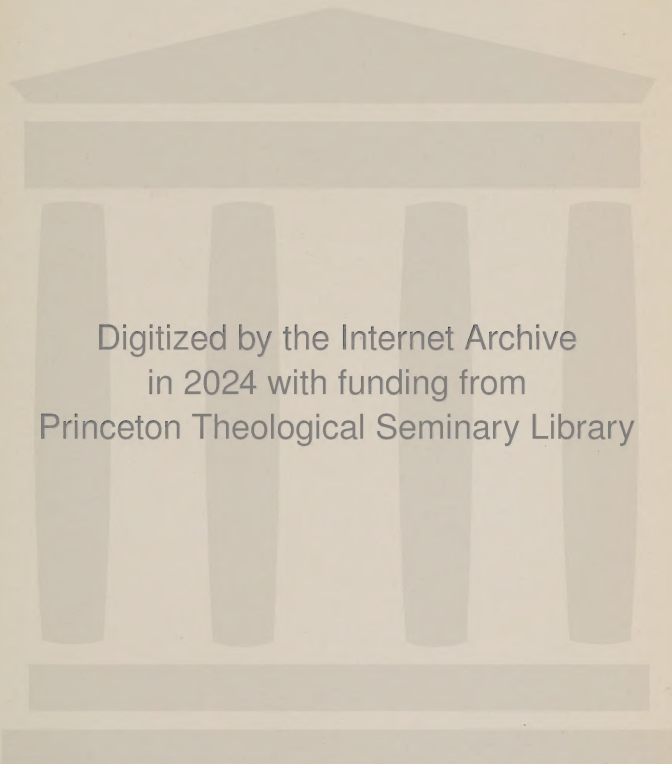
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ARTHUR SELDEN LLOYD

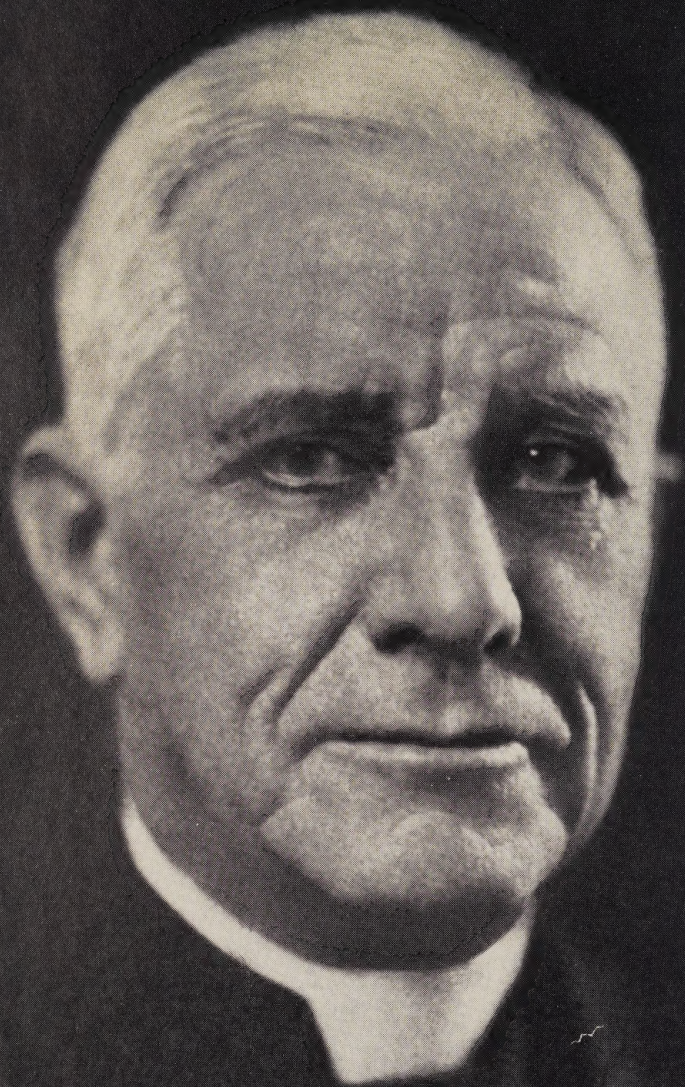
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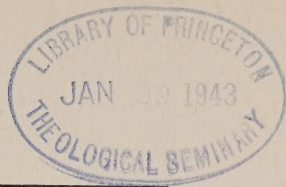
*He waited after no pompe and reverence,
Ne maked him a spiced conscience,
But Cristës loore and his apostles twelve
He taughte, but first he folwed it hymselfe.*

—From Chaucer's "Poor Parson of a Town"
in the Prologue to *Canterbury Tales*,
Student's Cambridge Edition,
Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1933.



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ARTHUR SELDEN LLOYD

Missionary-Statesman and Pastor

By

✓
ALEXANDER C. ZABRISKIE



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PREFACE

IN THE summer of 1937 it was suggested by the New York Churchman's Association that I undertake a biography of Bishop Lloyd. Having been brought up in a home in which he was a deeply revered and familiar figure, I accepted the suggestion with alacrity.

The primary aims of any biography are, I take it, to give an account of the subject's life and to give the "feel" of his personality. I have never undertaken any task so baffling as to convey to readers any adequate sense of Bishop Lloyd's personality, for the impression he made on people was as elusive as it was strong. It has been necessary, therefore, to rely almost entirely on anecdotes for this purpose.

It soon became clear that the story of Bishop Lloyd's life from 1900 to 1920 was the story of the development of the missionary work of the Episcopal Church. Only as one understood the problems that were presented to the central administration by the situation in the various fields and by the conditions in the Church at home could one appreciate what was on his mind and why he took certain steps; only as one studied the changes during his terms of office could one estimate the contribution he made. Consequently, it seemed wise to write in some detail the history of this important period of the Church's missionary work as it developed under his leadership. Those who are not interested in this subject may prefer to skip very rapidly through chapters three, four, five and seven of this book.

The sources for a biography of Bishop Lloyd are of three types. First, there is the large mass of his written material—

approximately ten thousand letters and a thousand sermon manuscripts, one book, articles and editorials in *The Spirit of Missions*, a diary that covered only a few years, account books. With these may be classed the outlines made of many *ex tempore* addresses and sermons by his friend Miss M. N. Betticher. Secondly, there are the Minutes of the Board of Missions, the official correspondence between "281" and the missionaries in the fields, the files of *The Spirit of Missions*, *The Churchman*, *The Living Church*, and *The Witness*, the Journals of General Convention and of the various dioceses with which he was connected. Thirdly, there are reminiscences of people who were intimately associated with him, an indispensable source. I have rarely cited my authorities, partly because most readers dislike footnotes and all the apparatus of technical scholarship, and partly because some of the people who have permitted me to use their correspondence with Bishop Lloyd preferred that no mention be made of their names.

The people to whom I am indebted are so many that I can mention only a few of them. The members of Bishop Lloyd's family have been more than generous in giving me his letters and sermon manuscripts and in talking to me about him whenever I have asked for information. Bishop Dandridge read in typescript the account of his thought and made helpful suggestions. Mr. and Mrs. Hadden read the first draft of this book and gave most constructive criticisms.

Next to Bishop Lloyd's family I am under obligation to the Reverend Doctor John W. Chapman and Miss May Carroll. Dr. Chapman was for fifty years a missionary in Alaska. Upon his retirement he settled in New York, teaching at the Church Army Training School. He went through all the Bishop's letters from 1921 to 1936, sorting and classifying

them, in many cases making abstracts of them. This arduous task lightened my labors greatly. Furthermore, his intimate knowledge of the Bishop and of missionary developments made him a counselor as valuable as he was generous of his time. He died before I had completed the manuscript which he had volunteered to read in its entirety. Had he been able to criticize it, it would have been far better.

Miss Carroll was Bishop Lloyd's secretary from 1916 till his death, except for the brief period when he was at White Plains. She has given me a great deal of "background" as well as facts. She read the typescript, and her criticism eliminated some errors and many inadequate statements.

Dr. Wood and the late Bishop Francis put freely at my disposal their immense and intimate knowledge of Bishop Lloyd and his work at "281." The Reverend F. J. Clark made the resources of "281" available to me and arranged matters so that I could work there conveniently. Dr. Lewis B. Franklin read the typescript and made some important corrections, as also did the Reverend Howard C. Robbins, D.D. The Reverend W. Taylor Willis, D.D., rector of Christ and St. Luke's Church, Norfolk, arranged for me to meet some of Bishop Lloyd's former parishioners and secured some letters treasured by other members of his congregation in that city. The Reverend Doctors R. F. Gibson, Milton, and Patton, and Bishop Freeman helped me greatly to understand the genesis and development of the Nation-Wide Campaign and the General Convention of 1919, the climax of Bishop Lloyd's career. Bishop Manning explained several things in connection with Bishop Lloyd's work as Suffragan-Bishop of New York. Miss Betticher, in addition to furnishing me her large collection of abstracts of his sermons and addresses, spent months of painstaking research in many libraries establishing

the Lloyd genealogy. Of the meticulous accuracy of her work I cannot speak too highly. Mrs. Smart somehow deciphered my handwriting and typed the manuscript.

But though these people have helped me immeasurably, none of them is responsible for what is written. The least I can do to express my gratitude is to clear them of any such charge.

The study and writing involved in this book have absorbed most of the time that could be taken from immediate duties during the past five years. It has been a task more rewarding than words can express. For the opportunity to undertake it, and for the generous help of many people, I am profoundly grateful.

A. C. Z.

*Theological Seminary,
Alexandria, Virginia*

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ARTHUR SELDEN LLOYD

Chapter I

EARLY LIFE

I.

ARTHUR SELDEN LLOYD was descended from the best families of two colonies. On his father's side his ancestors were Pennsylvania Quakers. The first American Lloyd was Thomas Lloyd, who came to Philadelphia from Dolobran Hall, Monmouthshire, Wales, in 1683 and was deputy governor of the Colony, 1691-1694. Miss Betticher's researches have shown with considerable certainty that he was descended from the Welsh Kings of Dyfed in South Wales and, through his great-great-grandmother, Margaret Kynaston, from the English King Edward I and the royal French house of Capet. One of this man's sons, Thomas Jr., remained in England; but his son, Thomas III, followed his grandfather to Philadelphia. The latter's son, Nicolas Waln, was dropped from the Society of Friends for marrying out of Meeting, and probably because of that, moved to Baltimore. His son John married Miss Janney, sister-in-law of the Johns Hopkins for whom the university is named. John's son, John Janney, born March 8, 1800, married Miss Eliza Armistead Selden in Christ Church, Alexandria, October 16, 1845. Of this couple Arthur Selden was the sixth child.

The first maternal ancestor to come to America was Samuel Selden. His wife, Rebecca George, had received as her dowry the large estates in the Northern Neck of Virginia which the Crown had granted her father, Sir James George. To

this property they migrated about 1690 with their four sons and built "Buckroe", near the present town of Hampton. On this large plantation with its many acres and slaves and fine house the Seldens lived for four generations. The men were magistrates and members of the House of Burgesses. In the third generation Colonel Cary Selden (1723-1792) served on the Committee of Safety during the Revolution, and his son, Dr. Wilson Cary Selden, was a surgeon in the Army. It was this same Dr. Wilson Cary Selden who sold "Buckroe" about 1790 and, after living for a short time near Gloucester, moved to the healthier Loudoun County, calling his place there "Exeter." He was married three times; and the second child of his third marriage, Eliza Armistead Selden, born at "Exeter" March 24, 1820, was Arthur Selden Lloyd's mother.

Through both his parents Arthur Lloyd was related to many of the leading families of Virginia, such as the Armisteads, Byrds, Tuckers, and Washingtons.

John Janney Lloyd, after studying at Harvard, practiced law in Baltimore for nearly twenty-five years. His health then broke down. He bought property outside Alexandria, Virginia, and there built "Mount Ida," a fine colonial house set in spacious grounds, still visible on one of the main roads from Washington to Alexandria, where Arthur was born May 3, 1857.

Mrs. Lloyd was a devout Episcopalian and her husband had been confirmed by Bishop Moore in 1840 in Christ Church, Alexandria. So their son was duly baptized in that same church. The exact date of Arthur's baptism and confirmation cannot be found.

For four years the family lived happily at "Mount Ida."

Arthur was diligently nurtured in the Christian faith from the very outset, his mother being his chief teacher. Every Sunday morning the family drove in to Christ Church, the father attending when his health permitted, and as soon as possible Arthur was taken along with the rest. When the boy urged that he be allowed to stay home, he was told, "My son, every good citizen worships God every Sunday."

But the main memories of this period that Arthur preserved were those of a negro coachman, an old horse, two dogs, and Colonel Robert E. Lee. One day Lee rode over from Arlington. Young Arthur was presented to him, and, awe-struck at the majestic face of the visitor, looked down at the ground as they shook hands. The Colonel said to him, "My boy, when a gentleman shakes hands he looks the other person in the eye."

These first impressionable years left their mark. To the end of his days Arthur Lloyd considered "Mount Ida" "the most beautiful place I have ever seen." Here he used to watch the boats on the Potomac. Here he led the country life so important for a child not physically robust. It was a home marked by peace. The father was an invalid, paralyzed shortly after Arthur's birth. Only once, wrote the son years later, had he ever seen his father angered, and that was on hearing that one of the servants had brutally beaten a colt. The mother was poised and calm. Of her he wrote, "I recall no occasion when I ever heard a tone of irritation or querulousness in her voice, so that the background that is most vivid is one of serenity. I can recall as a very small child the amazement with which I would find wrangling in a house where I happened to be. I knew nothing in my home like it. I was young enough to know it was different without being

able to explain the cause." All his life the bishop was noted for his calm, and one of the traits he most urged others to cultivate was serenity.

Every summer the family used to go to White Sulphur Springs for the benefit of Mr. Lloyd's health. In the spring of 1861, Arthur and his sisters were sent to their cousin Washington's place in Fauquier County, "Waveland," to visit till the parents could pick them up en route to the Springs. This was the boy's first separation from his parents.

The war broke out. Arthur's cousin promptly left to join the Confederate Army. Reports trickled in of battles. The boy heard his elders talking about them without at all comprehending what they meant. Then he learned that something called "The Federal Army" was between Waveland and Mount Ida, and that consequently he could not get to his parents. His whole world at once fell into chaos.

There was a large family at Waveland. In a short time Arthur adapted himself to the situation and enjoyed himself thoroughly. But two disagreeable things remained in his mind. One was an older boy who teased him. The other was an occasion when, as a punishment for having lost his hat, he was told to wear a girl's sunbonnet. Upon his refusal to wear it, it was forcibly put on him and sewed around his head. He went as soon as he could to a grove, with great difficulty removed the hated object and destroyed it. The elders were horrified at such insubordination. But when he told them he would deal similarly with every other sunbonnet put on him, they gave up the effort because the material out of which such objects were made was already scarce.

Soon news came that his cousin had been killed in action. The household at Waveland broke up, some going to Jefferson County, Arthur being taken to board with an old lady

at The Plains. Shortly before Lloyd died, he began to write for the sake of his grand-children some memories of the War period, and told the story so well that part of it must be repeated in his own words.

"As the fall came I learned that I was to be taken to Richmond. . . . Two things in Richmond stand out in my memory. One of them left a strong impression: as I look back I think it must have had a permanent influence on my attitude towards life. I was standing in the window and suddenly the whole side of the house opposite where I lived was blown out. Later they brought from the house a man on a stretcher and told me it was Mr. Hubbard who had been destroyed by a shell he was holding in his hand.

"I was playing marbles in front of the house where we lived. While I was absorbed in my game I was picked up from behind and found myself sitting on a man's shoulder. Exploding with indignation at being subjected to such indignity, I looked down to see that the man was General Lee. It was the only time in my life I have had experience as to how it feels when one comes to the ineffable. There was nothing more to be asked for. When he put me down he made me know how one feels when treasures from beyond are given to mortals. He cut off a button from his coat and gave it to me—a treasure that I preserved with reverence until I was well on in life, and finally lost because I had been beguiled by my sister."

To the end of his days Arthur Lloyd revered General Lee as no other man. Shortly before his death a cousin called on him and found him reading Freeman's "Life of Lee." She asked how he liked it. "Liz, I'm just like a boy with a lollypop. I enjoy a little of it and then put it down so it will last longer." A young clergyman also found him reading the same

biography. "What are you going to read, Bishop, when you have finished it?" "I'm going to read it again. And when I've finished it the second time I shall read it a third. There was only one Marse Robert, Eh?"

The fighting stopped quickly. Lee, surrounded by overwhelming odds, feeling that any lengthening of the war would only prolong the suffering of his men without giving any chance of final victory, surrendered at Appomatox. The war was over. The Cause for which unknown numbers had died, for which women had sacrificed everything they owned, for which children had gone half-starved, half-clad, was lost. The Cause for which Virginia had given everything was irretrievably lost.

For the older people life seemed ended though existence continued, for the things which made life worth living were gone. For children like Arthur, who had been taken to Jefferson County just before the end, life went on but under hardships and overcast by the leaden pall of defeat.

After the war ended the family returned to Mount Ida. Their fortune was terribly depleted and the next few years were hard ones. Barefooted, Arthur drove a plough as soon as he was big enough to control it. There was little time for play, and not much inclination. Games seemed a waste of time. In future years he used to say that the underlying insecurity of his childhood stamped in his mind a permanent realization of the transitoriness of material things.

Perhaps it was the prospect of difficult days ahead that made the father very solicitous for Arthur. When the old gentleman was so ill that he was forbidden to see anyone, he often sent for Arthur to come to his room for a chat. Shortly before the Bishop died he told his secretary that his father had discussed with him everything which life had proven of

fundamental importance. Frequently, he referred to specific bits of counsel. Nothing made a deeper impression than one remark he quoted several times in slightly varying phraseology. "I remember my old father saying to me, 'My boy, don't you ever do anything that forces you to make explanations. To have to make explanations is a sign of some sort of inner defeat.'" Certainly Lloyd followed this counsel. At times when he was being severely criticized, even when he knew that the criticism was unjustified and based on misunderstandings, he would not explain. His course was to plan as wisely as he could, act as effectively as possible; and then if people disapproved, to endure their criticism silently. Any other course seemed to him a form of seeking favor from men rather than from God. It appeared like an effort to defend his own integrity, and an integrity which one felt obliged to defend was not genuine integrity.

The boy grew very rapidly, reaching his full height when he was fourteen, and was frail. But every day he rode in to Mr. Blackburn's school, where he studied reasonably well, and spent his spare time working on the farm. His devotion to the place grew. When his parents died during his fifteenth year, to the grief of losing them was added the sorrow of having to leave the home to which he was so attached. But the household had to break up. The oldest sister, who had married the Reverend Melville Jackson, lived at Blacksburg, Virginia, and Arthur went to their home.

That same year, 1872, the Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College, now called the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, was opened by the State in an old building in Blacksburg, with a faculty of three professors and a commandant. Arthur Lloyd entered the college in its first class. Since the oldest records of undergraduate activity available

date from 1892, it is impossible to say more about his career there than that he received the degree of Bachelor of Science in Agriculture and Mechanics in 1875, the first graduating class. The late Right Reverend W. L. Gravatt, D.D., who was slightly behind him, wrote, "He did not take part in the athletic side of college life, but had the confidence and close fellowship of the whole student body. He left, after he graduated, by his life and character a lasting impression on the college life."

After his graduation Arthur intended to become a lawyer. So he went to the University of Virginia the following autumn and studied Greek, Latin, French, and Law for two years. He never took his degree. When the time came for the final examinations he investigated the cost of a diploma and figured that it was not worth it. Furthermore, it was getting very hot in Charlottesville. So he decided not to take the examination and left town.

One reason why the degree seemed to him not worth its cost was that he had just decided to enter the ministry. His older brother John had studied law and joined his two uncles who had built up a very considerable practice. But during his senior year at Washington College (now Washington and Lee) the president had sent for John and invited him to go for a ride. As they were coming home the former said to him, "John, I have been watching you with great interest during your course because of my friendship with your family. I hope you will consider the ministry for your career." That president was General Lee. Any suggestion from him was a command in the Lloyd family. John thought about it furiously for some years. While he was practicing law he studied theology in his spare time, and finally was ordained in 1876.

When John went into the ministry, the uncles turned to Arthur and offered to train him for the bar and associate him with them in their practice. That was his reason for studying at the University. But he was devoted to John, watched his work, talked to him and corresponded with him, and finally decided to follow the older brother's example. When he went to tell his uncle of the decision the latter said to him exasperatedly, "Do you know whose son you are?" "It's just because I do know Whose son I am that I want to be a minister," came the answer.

2.

To understand Arthur Lloyd's religion and its development, it is essential to remember the tradition in which he was brought up.

In his boyhood home the Christian faith was taken for granted. But this did not mean, as it means in so many instances, that its influence was negligible. Quite the reverse. It was not argued about because it was implicitly believed. Its practice was as much a matter of course as living. No one argued about whether Christ was Master and God any more than they argued about who was President of the United States. Family prayers and grace before meals were as invariable as the morning hours and the meals themselves. No one thought of discussing whether or not they should go to church on Sunday morning any more than they thought of discussing whether or not they should go to dinner. Nor did they leave before the end of the services. Toward the close of his career, the Bishop told a young friend that never in his whole life could he remember leaving during Holy Communion; because, "as a boy I was told it was unspeakably

bad manners to turn my back on the Lord's Table during the feast at which He was the host, and I don't know any better attitude." To be true and clean and unselfish was assumed to be the only normal thing for people who had heard of the Blessed Master and had been made members of His family. The Christian religion was as pervasive in the home as the air; it exerted as steady and unnoticed a pressure on characters as the atmosphere did on the bodies; membership in the church and adherence to its ways was as natural and accepted as membership in the family and observance of its customs.

The qualities most stressed in this Christianity which young Virginians learned at home were loyalty, truth, and hospitality, the great virtues of Southern gentlemen. To be a Christian meant primarily loyalty to Jesus Christ, for whom the usual designation was "The Blessed Master." Throughout his life Lloyd never liked to refer to Him as Jesus. It seemed scarcely reverent. To live in accordance with one's understanding of His precepts, to work at His tasks, to go through life as one with an heavenly allegiance by which all other loyalties were conditioned: this was the great requirement. To obey His precepts meant integrity. Only as one was true to one's convictions, sought to know the truth, to speak and act the truth, could one be loyal. And loyalty meant, further, to minister to the needs of others, to be kindly and generous, to be friendly to all.

This religion of the Virginia home was completely Christ-centered. God was thought of almost entirely as Christ had made Him known: as the Loving Father of whom Christ spoke and to whom He prayed, and whose love He demonstrated; as the Father who would receive all that turned to Him; as the Father who cared enough for men's well-

being to make known to them His attitudes and purposes, whose only Son shared the human lot by living among them as a man, and died for them on the Cross. Rarely was the name God used; more often the term Heavenly Father. And far more than they spoke of the Heavenly Father, they talked of the Blessed Master. The figure of the Man overshadowed everything. He was as real in the home as any child. He was the constant norm by which everything was tested. On one occasion when young Arthur asked his mother if he might go somewhere, she answered, "Ask Christ if He will go with you there. If He will go, why of course you can go. But ask Him, not me." On another occasion when they had read one of the imprecatory psalms at family prayers, she remarked, "I'm sure the Father of our Blessed Master would never have put it into the heart of any man to write that. Let us now kneel down and say 'Our Father'."

Of this religion of Virginia homes the mothers were the high priestesses. They it was who saw that the children learned the Bible and Prayer Book and said their prayers. They it was who taught them to think of God as an all-loving, all-wise, and all-powerful Father. They it was who taught them to revere Jesus as Master and Revealer. They it was who taught them that a Christian is a committed man, a man of loyalty and integrity and selflessness. In his later years, Bishop Lloyd told one of his daughters, "What you do for your children will make more difference than anything that ever comes into their lives. Not what you say, but what you do." And in an address to a group of women he said, "A little boy looks up into the face of his mother, and what he sees there he becomes."

The Church was the Father's House. Its membership consisted of all who loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity and truth.

Whether they belonged to the Episcopal branch or the Presbyterian made no fundamental difference. The different branches of the Church were like different branches of a family. Of course one preferred one's own branch and followed its customs; but one was always ready to extend a hospitable welcome to members of the other branches, or to visit their places of worship with the same freedom that one went to their homes. Hospitality was the essence of Churchmanship. Years later Bishop Lloyd said that the one thing that most irked him about Anglo-Catholics was their inhospitality in shutting away from the Father's Table members of other branches of His family. There was tremendous stress on the Church, the sort of stress one lays on one's family; a tremendous sense of obligation to serve it and in it at the Father's task; great respect for its rules and customs; unsurpassed respect and gratitude for its sacraments. Bishop Lloyd once said that he thought the "highest" Churchmen he had ever known were the Virginians among whom he grew up, for they held the Church in the highest esteem; but they felt that regard for the Father's love for all His children demanded that they be hospitable to all. They had high regard for the ministry, for ministers were privileged to be whole-time servants of the Father and of men. The parson was *the* person; but he was *the* person because he was constituted *the* servant.

Beside this religion of the home there was the theology heard in the Church.

The Episcopal Church in Virginia nearly died after the Revolution. It was revived under Bishop Moore and led forward into growth and power by him and Bishop Meade. The Church in Virginia was what Moore and Meade and their collaborators made it. Now both of these men were

Evangelicals. Bishop Meade had been trained at Princeton and held to a strict Calvinistic creed and a puritanical ethic. God was the mighty Jehovah who had commanded righteousness, who judged the wicked world in His wrath and punished it for its transgressions of His Law. Often he used to begin the perorations of his sermons, "My dear dying friends." Some of his descriptions of the wrath to come equalled those of Jonathan Edwards. Escape from hell depended on "saving faith." In His mercy God had sent Christ into the world to die upon the Cross and by His death make a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. Those who unfeignedly believed in Him and His sacrifice, and tried to obey His commands, were forgiven by God. If they continued in faith and obedience they would be sanctified by the Holy Spirit and after this painful life ended would be granted entry into the joys of Paradise. This salvation was due to no merit of their own, for all men were lost sinners, even the best, utterly unable to do any slightest good such as deserved reward. Salvation was due solely to the unspeakable mercy of God who saw fit to save them because of Christ's sacrifice, and it was appropriated solely by faith; and faith must issue in a life of austere righteousness.

The God taught in this system was obviously not the God worshiped in the home. But as Dr. J. B. Dunn has said, "fortunately most Virginians kept their theology for the great feasts of the Church. If it had ever really tintured their religion, all Virginia would have turned Unitarian."

3.

But the theology obtained at the Virginia Seminary and caused Arthur Lloyd many a hard struggle.

The struggle began at once. As he entered the grounds he threw away a pack of cigarettes, sure that such indulgence would not be countenanced. He was immeasurably relieved to see older students smoking. But the atmosphere of the place seemed to him unnatural, stifling. After supper the first night he and a classmate named Meade Clark sat on the steps of Aspinwall Hall debating whether they could endure it, whether the sensible thing would not be to leave in the morning. As they talked one of the professors passed by and stopped to speak to Clark. Quickly appreciating their feelings, he urged the two young men to give the Seminary a month's trial. If they still felt the same way at the end of a month he himself would urge them to leave. That seemed a fair proposal and they agreed. Within a month the place had cast its spell over them; they loved it as deeply as any students did; nothing could have persuaded them to go.

The Seminary was at a low ebb in Lloyd's day. The great Dr. Sparrow was dead and there were no creative theological thinkers left. All four professors were genuinely learned men; but two were very old and declining and the other two were of the drill-master type who always insisted that the students must know precisely what Pearson or Ellicott said. The whole point of view of the faculty and Board of Trustees was that *the* truth was available in systematized form and that the students' business was to commit it to memory.

From this type of instruction Arthur Lloyd received no inspiration to study; no clearly grasped philosophy of life; only a rigid system of theology which he gravely doubted. Perhaps this was the reason why some of the older professors had less hope for his usefulness in the ministry than for any other man in the Seminary. But if the theology was repugnant and the classroom work uninspiring, the other ele-

ments in the extremely simple life at the Seminary were wholly congenial. Lloyd enjoyed the fellowship. The faculty houses were open day and night to any student who cared to enter whether for private discussion of theological problems or for a social visit with the family.

And much though he might dislike the professors' theology, he admired them greatly as men. His cousin, Beverly D. Tucker, had written a few years earlier some sentences that summed up beautifully Lloyd's feeling. "The natural effect of the cold metaphysical study of the science of theology and the exegesis of the original Scriptures is to leave the mind wearied and callous. The deep spirituality of our professors, however, counteracts to a great extent the effect of these studies — and they lose no occasion to improve the hearts which otherwise were in danger of starving in the midst of so much intellectual food." The professors were of saintly character; Dr. Packard with the quiet, mellow friendliness of an old man; Dr. Nelson, a veteran of the war, full of vigor and "sanctified common sense," an ardent champion of whatever was righteous and of good report, with apostolic devotion to the people of the neighborhood who looked to him for pastoral care.

Lloyd liked his fellow students greatly. Three of his classmates became intimate friends till death parted them, Meade Clark, Mercer Logan, and Thomas Packard. With the whole student body he was on excellent terms. They made his room such a general gathering place that most of his studying had to be done late at night. Thus early was evident his power to draw men to him.

He enjoyed his work on the country mission to which he was attached, and where he conducted services, preached, taught Sunday School, and did pastoral visiting. One Sunday

he had conducted Sunday School and services at two chapels, involving about ten miles' walking. On his return he went to Evening Prayer in the Seminary Chapel. He knelt down to say his prayers before the service began. When he raised his head he was amazed to find the building empty except for himself and Meade Clark, who informed him that he had slept through the entire service and the Dean's sermon.

The warm devotional life was to his liking. For it was a *praying* seminary. The Lord seemed very accessible. Men's lives centered around Him, and they grew noticeably as they tried to live out the spirit of their devotions. The corporate worship appealed to him. The Chapel in which the services were held was a square building. At the north end was a plain table with a semi-circular communion rail around it. The only vestments ever worn were the surplice and black stole. Nor were any adornments permitted. Bishop Whittle, the President of the Board, was adamant on that point. It was during Lloyd's seminary days that the Bishop sent an admonition to all the clergy of the diocese remonstrating with the few parishes that had so far forsaken the "spiritual and Protestant" nature of the Episcopal Church for the "worldly and Romish" practice of using different colored cloths and book markers at different periods of the church year and decorating the chancel with evergreens and flowers at Christmas. And it was in the spring of Lloyd's senior year, when the present chapel was nearly completed, that the Bishop, discovering that the ends of the new pews were surmounted by small, carved wooden crosses, got a carpenter and had him saw off every one. But though the services, like the chapel building, were simple to a degree, they were intensely sincere. There was no trace of sham or forced "piosity." Every-

one entered fully into the offices of the Prayer Book and came to the monthly celebrations of the Holy Communion with a feeling that they were inexpressibly privileged to be permitted to share the bounty of their Father's table where their Master was the unseen, but indubitably present, host. The prayers held every evening in the dormitories were vital and so were the men's private devotions. Every Thursday night there was held in a large room called "Prayer Hall" a devotional service at which the members of the faculty spoke, not as lecturers but as older brothers in the ministry sharing with their juniors the fruits of their experience in talks that were direct, practical, usually pastoral. The theology might be unattractive but in the Seminary professors walked close to God, and students strove both to pattern their lives on their Lord's and to commune with Him that they might learn His will for them.

4.

Life grew more complicated for Arthur Lloyd in his second year at the Seminary for another reason. Adjacent to the Seminary was the Episcopal High School, a Church boarding-school for boys, the headmaster of which at this time was Dr. Launcelot M. Blackford. Dr. Blackford frequently used to entertain seminary students at his house, and there one evening Arthur Lloyd met the doctor's niece, Miss Lizzie Robertson Blackford. Before long they had become engaged.

Miss Blackford was born in Richmond shortly before the war. Her mother died when she was very young; her father, Colonel W. M. Blackford, became an engineer officer on Jeb Stuart's staff; and consequently she was taken to "The

Meadows" at Abingdon, Virginia, the estate of her maternal grandfather, ex-governor Wyndham Robertson. After the war her father had to be away most of the time at professional tasks, with the result that she divided her time between her Robertson and Blackford grandparents except during her school years in Richmond. Grandmother Robertson was gay and loved parties. Grandmother Blackford was serious and straight-laced. In one household the girl was expected to be a belle, in the other, to be proper. Years later she summed up the difference. "Grandmother Robertson was always having my dresses shortened, and Grandmother Blackford letting them down."

The young lady with whom Lloyd so promptly fell in love was pretty, vivacious, fun-loving, unconventionally religious, fond of music and beauty, as independent a character as he, utterly candid, saying exactly what was on her mind without concealment or reserve. She saw everything sharply as black or white, with no greys, but possessed, none the less, a fund of understanding and insight.

The courtship was difficult. Miss Blackford was not at the Episcopal High School very long, so the young man had to work fast. She was not the type to capitulate to anybody till she was quite ready. Seminary classes and studies interfered terribly.

In later years, Lloyd told one amusing story of this period. He was very anxious to spend the Christmas vacation of his senior year at "The Meadows" with his fiancée. But he had no money. So he wrote the superintendent of the Norfolk and Western Railway stating his dilemma and asking for a pass to Abingdon. The superintendent replied by return mail that a request for so praiseworthy a purpose could not be denied, enclosed the pass, and wished the couple a Merry Christmas.

5.

At the end of his seminary course Lloyd had serious doubts over whether he could enter the ministry. For one thing, the professors and all the leaders of the Episcopal Church in Virginia held a system of theology which repelled him. He could not honestly take orders unless the authorities knew his position and were willing to ordain him in spite of the disagreement. So he opened his mind to Bishop Whittle and received this wise answer. "There's just one thing I want to say to you. I want you to promise me one thing, and that is that you will never deny any statement the Church has made till you know why the Church has made it." It may be guessed that this remark began the intense interest in Church history which possessed Lloyd all the rest of his life.

But he had a further question. He wondered whether ordination would bar him off from men and thus be a handicap rather than a help in his efforts to serve God and his fellows. He decided finally to go ahead, and very early in his ministry experience convinced him that, far from limiting him, ordination emancipated him from many hindrances and vastly increased the scope of his usefulness to people.

And lastly, he had great doubts over whether he was competent for the work of the ministry. He may have known that several of the professors thought he could never accomplish much. He certainly knew that his own conception of what a clergyman ought to do differed from that of others. He had no confidence in his ability to preach. He thought that his character was far below the ideal he held for clergymen. His only qualifications, as he saw them, were a desire to make Christ known, loved, and obeyed, a desire to serve

people. Were these enough? It was not till the very end of his course that he finally decided to be ordained.

The graduation exercises were held on Thursday, June 24, 1880. At the Alumni Meeting immediately thereafter Lloyd read an essay, "The Policy of Hildebrande," no copy of which can now be found. On Friday the 25th, in company with nine other men, he was made deacon in St. Paul's Church, Alexandria, by Bishop Whittle. The solemnity of the service brought back with terrific force the old feeling of unfitness for the ministry. That night as he stood on the front steps of Aspinwall Hall he wished he might lie down and die, so utterly unprepared and helpless he felt for the work.

Such questionings were subdued by the leave-takings from professors and fellow-students, the preparations for the wedding and the trip to Abingdon. On Wednesday, June 30th, he was married to Miss Blackford in St. Thomas' Church, Abingdon. The young couple went at once to Farmville, Virginia, Lloyd having been appointed deacon-in-charge of the Johns Memorial Church there.

6.

Lloyd's charge had three congregations, all located southwest of Petersburg, near the North Carolina border. At Ca Ira was Grace Church, dating from the 1750's, with 17 communicants, 32 Sunday School pupils, and 6 teachers. The Farmville and Appomatox congregations had been organized in 1879 and had just begun to build churches. The former had 32 communicants, 35 Sunday School pupils, and 6 teachers; the latter, 17 communicants, 55 Sunday School pupils, and 5 teachers. For serving these three posts he was supposed to receive a salary of \$425.00.

In one respect it was a discouraging work. The population was stationary. Nearly everybody belonged to some church; the number of children to be confirmed was practically balanced by the number of members who died or moved away. In fact, at the end of five years he had but one more communicant at Farmville than at the outset of his ministry and at Appomatox an increase of only seven.

Lloyd never confined his attention to his own congregation but was always at the disposal of anybody, black or white, to whom he could be of any help. Monday mornings he regularly spent at the blacksmith's shop in Farmville talking to the farmers who came to town and from them learning of any country people in trouble. When he went to see people he always joined in whatever work was being done at the moment, whether it were feeding chickens, cleaning up the kitchen or mending fences. Consequently, most families came to regard him as one of their members, rejoiced at his visits and felt perfectly free to call on him at any time. The report of his friendliness spread far.

One day Lloyd was working in his study while dinner was being prepared. He answered a knock at the front door and found a youngish colored man. His bearing showed him to be of refinement and education; his clothes testified that he was well off.

"Is this Mr. Arthur Lloyd?"

"Yes."

"Well, I'm —." It was the man who, as a slave boy, had been Lloyd's constant companion at Mount Ida in the pre-war days. After the war he had gained an education, become a lawyer and prospered. While in Farmville on business he heard that there was a parson named Lloyd who was always ready to see anyone and had gone to the rectory to discover

if it was his former master and friend. Lloyd immediately took him to his study, brought up dinner for both of them and spent most of the afternoon reminiscing with him.

The greatest indication of the regard in which all people held him was a unanimous call to be pastor of the Presbyterian church in Farmville. The Presbyterians said they liked his sermons, which grew out of his conversations with people, dealt with what it meant to be loyal to Christ in everyday life and were put in such simple language that nobody had any doubt as to what he meant. They said he was acting as pastor to most of them already and he might as well have the same relationship to all their members officially. They offered to let him hold their service at whatever hour he could fit it into his schedule of services in the Episcopal churches and to use the Prayer Book, but asked him not to wear a surplice. It was with great regret that he declined this invitation.

Had he been able to accept it, it would have been a great help financially. His salary was frequently in arrears, and though Lloyd was always ready to ask for money for the work of the Church, he never would press for his salary. He reasoned that if his work was worth while the congregation would pay it if they could. If it was not forthcoming, it meant either that he did not deserve it or that they could not afford it. Furthermore, he was absolutely convinced that if he did the Lord's work, the Lord would see to it that he had the necessities of life. "The Lord will provide" was his life-long motto not only in mission work but in his own personal concerns. Experience seemed to justify this faith. At times he had to pay for postage stamps with eggs, and on several occasions neither he nor his wife knew how or where they could get needed food and clothing. But the essentials always came.

As a result, Lloyd grew increasingly trustful in God's providence, increasingly careful in the use of his slender resources, and increasingly generous to people in financial distress.

In two ways the diocese showed appreciation of Lloyd's work. In his address to the Council of 1884 Bishop Whittle spoke of what he had done at Appomatox, saying that he had built there "one of the most attractive churches in the diocese, a simple log building but neat and comfortable and always having a good and attentive congregation." That same year the Convocation of Southwestern Virginia met at Farmville. Lloyd and his wife charmed all the clergy and lay delegates by their gracious hospitality, by the efficiency with which he had organized the meetings and the entertainment of the visitors, by the spirit of sincere devotion and fellowship evident in the parish, by the taste and good architecture of the church which, begun before he came, had been completed under his leadership.

The first child was born at Mrs. Lloyd's old home, and was baptized Mary Robertson. The second child, also born at "The Meadows," was a boy, Arthur Selden, Jr., who lived but a few months. His death was a terrible blow to the mother and was one of the deepest sorrows Lloyd ever experienced. He very rarely mentioned the baby, partly because he felt the death so keenly, and partly because of his profound conviction that when one met any adversity one should carry on with as little outward show of pain as possible. He detested "parading grief." The only being to whom one ought to reveal one's innermost feeling was the Heavenly Father who seeth in secret and in whom alone true consolation is found.

Mrs. Lloyd, always delicate, was seriously ill after the birth of the boy and his death made her condition worse. The doctors said that for her recovery a long rest on the sea-coast

was imperative. Her trip had to be postponed indefinitely because they had no means to finance it. Then came a call to the rectorship of St. Luke's Church, Norfolk. Largely for her sake he accepted it. But he never forgot the people in his first parish. In 1934 he wrote one of his old parishioners there, "I find myself very often 'honing' after Farmville as the darkies say. . . . Any word from it is always grateful to me. I suppose I shall never have quite the same feeling for any other place. And not the least pleasant thought the name brings back to me is the patience with which you people bore with me in my youth."

Lloyd was advanced to the priesthood while in Farmville, the event taking place at the Seminary Chapel on Friday, June 24, 1881.

During Lloyd's ministry in Farmville the authorities of the diocese of Virginia, all very conservative theologically, thought that the current "modernism" was endangering Christianity. Convinced that the Christian faith was a series of insights into the nature of Reality and of human life which God had revealed to spiritually sensitive people rather than a system of belief constructed by pure logic, they thought it ought not to be judged by purely logical criteria. They feared also, lest, if a few articles of the faith were dropped simply because they did not appeal to nineteenth century modes of thought, those modes of thought would come to be regarded as the final judges of every phase of the faith; and if the faith as a whole were subordinated to logic, Christian conduct would soon be discarded, for reason by itself advocated enlightened self-interest. Consequently, they opposed current attempts to eliminate certain aspects of traditional belief, not fully appreciating either the motives or the arguments of those who differed from them. But in the controversy many

partisans on both sides lost sight of the ultimate issue involved, namely whether faith is wholly subject to logic, and disputed over secondary matters. Lloyd kept out of the arguments. Throughout his whole ministry he abhorred theological controversy. He thought that almost all of it began because one individual or group misunderstood what another meant, dealt with matters of subordinate importance and ended by both contestants trying to define logically what was not susceptible of such treatment.

Furthermore, just before Lloyd was ordained deacon, Bishop Whittle had asked the diocesan Council to sustain him in forbidding the use of certain decorations and vestments in two parishes, insisting that three very important principles were at stake. The first and most essential was the right use of money. The primary duties laid upon the Church by its Founder were missionary activity and philanthropy. Not until they had done all that was possible along these lines had congregations any moral right to use their financial resources to please themselves by adorning their place of worship. The second principle was "the Spiritual and Protestant" character of the Church as opposed to "the Worldly and Romish" one. Decorations and vestments were unimportant in themselves, but they were part of the system of doctrine and practice which the Oxford Movement had been advocating with some success and which he thought entirely incompatible with the standards of the Episcopal Church. The third principle was whether a bishop had authority over rectors and vestries in matters ceremonial.

Lloyd refrained from active participation in this controversy, also. But his whole future course was marked by a development away from part of Bishop Whittle's position. He became decreasingly Protestant; he thought that decora-

tions and vestments were matters of aesthetic taste and not at all of theology; he came to feel that each parish should determine its own ceremonial. On the other hand, he fought increasingly for Bishop Whittle's first principle: a church's money should be used for missions and for the relief of the unfortunates, and only what was not really needed for these purposes might be legitimately spent for making the church building more beautiful or comfortable, or for improving the aesthetic quality of the services.

Chapter II

NORFOLK

I.

WHEN LLOYD went to Norfolk, it was a city of about thirty thousand, an important seaport with some industries, growing rapidly. Its oldest and most important Episcopal church was St. Paul's, a colonial building in the heart of the city. Further out toward the residential section was Christ Church, newer and more fashionable. St. Luke's, which was begun as a mission of Christ Church, had been an independent congregation only ten years when Lloyd assumed the rectorship and had at that time approximately 250 communicants. Very few of them were wealthy, about half of good stock but narrow circumstances, and somewhat over a third poor and uneducated.

Lloyd came to Norfolk alone. His wife was too ill to undertake settling a new home, so she went to her family at Abingdon for four months, during which time he stayed with two of his parishioners, Mr. and Mrs. Barton Myers.

His relation with their Negro butler, Jeff, was characteristic. When Jeff became very ill, Mrs. Myers went to see him in his cabin and learned that his preacher was of no help to him.

"Would you like to have Mr. Lloyd come to you?"

"Lor, Miss, that would be wonderful. But do you think he would come to a poor Negro's cabin?"

"I'll ask him."

She did; and every evening for a month Lloyd went to see him. At the end of that time he died. But just before his death he said to Mrs. Myers, "Mr. Lloyd has brought me the Lord's peace."

Lloyd's ministry at Norfolk was preëminently pastoral. But the first thing he had to undertake was the organization of the parish. A certain spinster, Miss N., of whom it was said, "She came to Norfolk to visit relatives for a few days and stayed forty years," ran everything. She was able, very good, and extremely bossy. When she said no, she underlined it. She was head of the Auxiliary and the Women's Guild, she taught the main class in the Sunday School, and had charge of the relief work. Nobody dared do anything without asking Miss N.

Lloyd realized that this was an impossible situation, and characteristically decided to meet it at once. Before his first year was over he had reorganized the whole of the women's work. There was one Guild that embraced all activities. Within this Guild were various chapters, each of which had some special task such as poor relief, missions, the care of the Altar. Miss N. was put in charge of one of these chapters. For other posts of leadership he picked the women he thought most competent. The whole was done so wisely and tactfully that everybody acquiesced enthusiastically and Miss N. came to him one night to thank him for having taught her humility.

Though he was an admirable organizer and executive, organization for its own sake made no appeal to Lloyd. He had two concerns: to get certain work done; to develop people by giving them tasks that would bring out their latent possibilities. To each woman he gave a task. A group of young society girls he sent out to visit the poor and shut-ins. But

he refused to let them take things on each visit lest their calls be simply a series of hand-outs. The main thing he made them give was their friendship and personal service. For only thus could they learn about the life of the less fortunate; only so could they meet the deep need for human understanding. A very shy but capable young matron he made preside over one of the chapters. It was agony for her. She tried to get out of it. His only answer was, "What you like doesn't matter. It's what's your duty." As a result of being held steadily to the task and of his counsel, she developed into one of the most effective leaders and public speakers in the parish. Once when she was disparaging her abilities he turned on her severely, "What right have you got to run down the Master's servant. Do your duty and quit talking." And constantly he warned the women: "There's nothing more hardening than Church work, and nothing more dangerous to the soul. It's so likely to make you feel good, or superior to the people who don't do it, or better than the poor dirty people you go to visit. God save you if it does. Above all others, people doing Church work need to pray the dear Lord to keep them humble and loving." On one occasion when he saw that some of them were beginning to feel superior, he called them together and said lovingly but curtly: "Stop comparing yourself with other people. Never do it. People always choose somebody below themselves in some respect so they can feel good. Compare yourself only with the Master."

The work of these various chapters required money. Some of the women wanted to have sales or fetes. But so long as he was rector Lloyd permitted but one sale a year, and that only of things they had made themselves, telling them: "We give our own money to the Lord; we don't sell things we

don't care about so as to be able to give other people's. The way to raise money for the Master's work is to get gloves with fewer buttons on them and to buy fewer new dresses."

Lloyd felt deeply "the tragedy of Masterless men," drifting through life with their abilities unused because no great loyalty evoked and harnessed them; for lack of a Master sure to become useless to society if not positive menaces. "A masterless man is a mercenary. He serves anyone who will supply his appetites. And as he acquires a certain skill in this warfare, he soon becomes a menace unless he finds a master." There were many such in Norfolk, and from the outset he set himself to win them for the Christ.

Their response to his advances was remarkable. In a short while he had six who met with him regularly. These he formed into a chapter of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the first in Virginia. Following his conviction that a person had to *do* something in order to grow, he assigned definite duties to the members. Some of them were ushers in his Sunday School; others spent Sunday afternoons visiting the ships in the harbor or the water-front boarding houses, and would walk into St. Luke's for the night service bringing anywhere from 25 to 50 sailors with them; others opened a mission Sunday School in the poorest part of the city. Every man had to attend public worship, pray, and do some other specific task.

The last ten years of his ministry in St. Luke's the Brotherhood averaged 60 members, drawn from every rank. Some of them were brought into the society by other members; most of them came in at Lloyd's invitation. For instance, one night Lloyd noticed a young stranger in the congregation, learned his name, and a few days later called on him in his boarding-house. They chatted pleasantly for a time. Then

Lloyd asked him to act as usher at the children's service the next Sunday. This man had had the most lax sort of connection with any church before and greatly disliked what his visitor requested. He declined. But as Lloyd looked at him with his intense, disarming air, his resolution waned. "I don't know why I should, but for your sake I'll do it." Starting thus, Lloyd drew him more and more into the fellowship and work of St. Luke's and of the Brotherhood; saw him frequently; and finally the man's allegiance was transferred from the parson to the Master.

In addition to the Brotherhood, Lloyd formed a Bible class for young men which he conducted himself every Thursday night. One of its members was a young Marine officer named John LeJeune. Years later, when Commandant of the Corps, he spoke of Lloyd as "the strongest influence for Christianity that has ever come into my life."

From the Brotherhood and the Bible Class Lloyd sent ten men to the Theological Seminary. Some of these came to see him about the ministry in the first instance; with others he took the initiative. In one case he went to a young business man and asked, "Why don't you study for the ministry?"

The man remonstrated that he had never thought of taking orders and that he was incapable of it, that he had too high a regard for the profession to disgrace it by entering himself. Lloyd let him talk and then said:

"Suppose General Lee came to you and said that he had an important message to send to another army, that you might get there or might not, but that someone had to take it because many lives depended on it. What would you say?"

"Of course I would try."

"Well, the Master has a message upon which many lives depend and someone has got to take it. Won't you try?"

"I'm afraid somebody else will have to try because I can't do it."

Lloyd departed without mentioning it further. But the man could not get it out of his head. After a couple of weeks he went early one morning to the rectory, and as he walked up the front steps Lloyd came out to meet him and said: "Come in. I've been waiting for you. I knew you would come."

They talked over the ministry. Lloyd painted all the difficulties to be faced both after ordination and also in the preparation for it, painting as dark a picture as he could. He refused to let the man commit himself then but told him that he would have to wait at least a month before the rector and vestry would recommend him for Orders. At the end of the month Lloyd welcomed him with a never-to-be-forgotten warmth as a companion-in-arms.

Lloyd's concern for people was by no means limited to his own parishioners. People of all communions, including Jews and Roman Catholics, came to consult him. Blacks as well as whites regarded him as "our pastor." Night after night his study would be crowded with men, frequently till well after midnight; and during the day, when somebody was talking to him in his study, others would be waiting in the next room for a chance to see him. When there was a group present, he made no apparent effort to control the conversation, but by occasional remarks would direct it into religious channels. When he was alone with one person he would draw out what was on his mind, then help him see his problem in clear, Christian perspective, and finally guide the conversation so that the other found his own answer. Very rarely would he state the answer dogmatically.

Because he loved people opportunities of usefulness knocked at his door constantly. There was a civil engineer in New York whose wife died amid most distressing circumstances. In his despair he took ship for South America, intending to commit suicide on the voyage. While the ship was docked at Norfolk taking on freight he went ashore for a walk. Suddenly a man stopped him.

"May I speak to you, sir?"

"Who are you and what do you want?"

"My name is Arthur Lloyd. As I passed you I couldn't help noticing that suffering is written on your face. I don't know what the trouble is, or who you are, or whether you are in a position to accept my offer. But God has blessed me with his richest gift, a happy home, and I want you to share it with me. Won't you at least come to my home for dinner?"

The man had never been spoken to before in this fashion. In his surprise he accepted before he knew what he was doing. They had dinner together and afterwards smoked and talked at length. When the man left the rectory he no longer wanted to commit suicide. He went to live in a Norfolk hotel for a month so as to be near Lloyd and from him to learn more of the Master and Friend.

What was the secret of Lloyd's hold over the young men? "He made us believe in ourselves, not as we were but as we could become. He never talked to us about our sins, but he made us feel how terribly far we were below what we ought to be. And then he made us feel that the Master could make us different people and that, if we gave ourselves to Him, He would help us do the work He assigned us." So one of his old parishioners described it.

A former curate of Lloyd's, the Reverend Robert Coup-land, D.D., put it in a letter. "What was the secret of his hold on men? Well, my answer to that is simply and solely his personality, his personal magnetism. He was not intellectual, nor learned, nor an unusual conversationalist. There was no physical beauty about him, and he did not have a pleasing voice, as far as its quality was concerned. He was not interested in the things most men are interested in, athletics, golf, tennis, boats, baseball or football, and in those days he almost never went to the theatre. . . . However, there was an indescribable, mysterious something about him that made everyone fall in love with him. There was a winsomeness about him that was irresistible. There was a gentleness, a simplicity, a naturalness, an earnestness, a spirituality about him that made his presence a transforming environment. And withal he was so human and understanding and sympathetic."

The most characteristic trait about Lloyd was his profound respect for every human being. In every person he met he saw the latent image of a Christ-like personality. And always he directed his attention to that latent possibility. Not far from the church was a house of prostitutes. Somehow its inmates realized that, intensely though he loathed their occupation — and no man ever loathed it more — he cared for them as individuals; and frequently he was asked to visit one of them who was sick or dying, invitations he never refused. Quite often on Saturday nights he would go around the saloons to speak to any men he could and invite them to church. One night he found a man in a drunken stupor. With the help of the bartender he got the man in a cab, drove him to his boarding house and put him to bed. The next morning he visited him at nine o'clock and invited him

to Sunday School and church. Every day for several weeks Lloyd saw him. He helped him get another job and some education and gave him his constant friendship. In time that man became the chief of police in another city.

This habit of directing attention to the latent possibilities of people rather than to their actual attitudes occasionally had sad results. Though he reformed a number of drunkards he failed in some of the cases he was most interested in, among others a woman who cooked for his household for some time until, because of her intermittent sprees, Mrs. Lloyd had to discharge her. He was rarely deceived by people because, for all his trustfulness, he had an intuitive understanding of them; but he was frequently let down.

Lloyd's great interest in missions was in reality but an extension of his pastoral concern. All people everywhere needed to hear the Gospel; he cared for all; it followed that he was anxious that all should have a chance to hear it. Consequently, he was a great supporter of the work of the Board of Missions, steadily holding up before his people the duty of knowing about the extension of the Christian Church and the privilege of supporting it, constantly informing them of what was being done, providing as many opportunities as possible for them to meet missionaries informally, putting missionary education to the forefront in the Sunday School, Bible classes, and Confirmation classes. The effect of his emphasis is shown, among other ways, in the ratio of contributions for parish expenditures and for missions. Except during the years when a new church was being built, St. Luke's annually gave to missions between one-quarter and one-third of its total receipts. There were but two or three parishes in Virginia that could compare with this record. It

was because of his experience at St. Luke's that in future years he insisted so strongly that if the people only knew what was being done they would give for its support.

Another outgrowth of his pastoral concern was his interest in social problems. Though Lloyd was very little interested in social theory for its own sake, yet he was reading the books of the leading protagonist at that time of what later became known as "the social gospel," when no other clergyman in the diocese knew them at all. There was a great multitude of human beings without proper food or clothes or education or medical care. Philanthropy might help some of them for a time. But some sort of change in the system was needed to minimize this unnecessary suffering. So argued Heron; and though Lloyd thought if the people who owned the money and controlled the system were changed in motive and in ethical standards the situation would be remedied, yet he was anxious to learn from the Christian socialists.

Lloyd's concern for people dominated his relations with the Negroes. He felt as responsible for ministering to them as to the whites. In this he was no exception. Most of the clergy of Southern Virginia were deeply concerned for the welfare of the blacks and very anxious that the Episcopal Church should work more effectively among them. But Lloyd differed sharply from his white brethren over part of the Church's policy in its Negro work. He held that colored congregations and clergy should be represented in the diocesan Council on the same basis as the white ones instead of being formed into a separate convocation. Their feeling that he was their champion was vividly illustrated in letters they wrote him in later years when he was elected bishop-coadjutor of Southern Virginia.

2.

His pastoral concern increasingly governed Lloyd's preaching. After he had been at St. Luke's a few years some of his parishioners told him that his sermons were ineffective because he read them verbatim. Gradually and very painfully he abandoned his manuscript, though throughout the Norfolk period and afterwards he continued to write the great majority of his addresses.

When one reads the sermons he wrote in Norfolk, approximately nine hundred in number, one is surprised that his preaching should have been as effective as it was. For most of them lack orderly development of thought and logical precision. About half of them consist of one paragraph fifteen pages long, end very abruptly without any definite conclusion, and give the impression that he had decided how long the sermon should be and when he had completed the allotted number of pages he just stopped. The style lacks distinction, though there are occasional short, pungent sentences. Judged by the usual criteria of sermon construction, with very few exceptions they would have to be marked poor.

After Lloyd had learned to deliver his sermons *ex tempore* he began to think of preaching not as a formal oration but as a conversation with a large group of people. When he went to the pulpit, he would entirely abandon the carefully prepared manuscript and make no effort to follow closely what he had written. Draping himself over the note-rest he would talk to his friends in the same conversational and informal manner in which he would chat by his fire-side. The topic usually grew out of needs he had discovered in pastoral calls; occasionally out of the theme suggested for the day by the

Collect, Epistle, and Gospel; rarely it was determined by some event in the life of the Church, the nation, or the community. There was terrific earnestness in what he said because he felt there were people before him who desperately needed to grasp Christian truth. There was also intimacy and spontaneity because his aim was not beauty of diction or precision of logic, but to help his friends grasp the truth and to arouse them to faith and obedience. Recurrently he questioned his conscience most carefully to find out whether he had been saying such things as he would be ready to reaffirm before the judgment seat of Christ. He strove always to avoid "the sin of wasting people's time in their Father's house over things that men's minds have contrived" and tried to "fix their thoughts on the very Word of God in whom alone is life eternal."

Lloyd's sermons left impressions rather than ideas. The people were convinced that discipleship to Christ was the one important thing in the world, though frequently very few could give an accurate summary of the line of thought that had produced this conviction. Once when Dr. Beverley Tucker, rector of St. Paul's Church, was sick and Lloyd was substituting for him while the curate preached at St. Luke's, Lloyd preached from the same manuscript on two consecutive Sundays. Nobody realized it was the same sermon, but more than one person was genuinely stimulated by it both times.

If Lloyd was by no means a great preacher, still less was he a teacher who gave to his regular hearers during the years a rounded view of the Christian faith and doctrines. But he was decidedly a useful parish preacher. For when people crowd to hear a man Sunday after Sunday (far more than they crowd the church of a very able scholar who weekly

expounds the philosophy of the Christian religion in a nearby parish), he is an effective preacher. And when people leave Sunday after Sunday saying in substance, "I don't know precisely what Mr. Lloyd was driving at, but I do know that I've got to try harder to live as Christ commanded and that this means humility and love and moral effort and making the Lord known to my friends," the man who has that result is a useful preacher. Lloyd produced that result because he knew his people and spoke directly to their situation.

Lloyd was frequently asked to speak in other places but his sense of responsibility for his parish led him to decline most of the invitations except those to address groups of young men. The Brotherhood of St. Andrew brought him to several of its conventions and sent him on tours. On such a trip in 1891 he encountered for the first time the man with whom he was so intimately associated in New York, John W. Wood, who was then a secretary of the Brotherhood. They met in Lynchburg, Virginia, and journeyed as far as San Antonio, forming new chapters and strengthening old ones. Lloyd's addresses to such gatherings were not carefully constructed but rather a brief series of insights, delivered extemporaneously with great simplicity and sincerity, based on the assumption that men wanted to live up to their best and would do so if shown how. There was no "high-pressure evangelism," no probing into men's lives, but very concrete suggestions as to what Christian discipleship demanded and how business-men could fulfil it, firing them with a vision of what they could be and imbuing them with a feeling of personal responsibility. "They were the most effective addresses to men I have ever heard," Dr. Wood told the author.

The central theme of Lloyd's preaching in Norfolk was "Liberty in Christ" — emancipation from fear and worry

and self-consciousness, from futility and self-centredness and sin; freedom to attain one's maximum possibilities as a child of God; freedom to serve God and man, to be related to one's fellows by friendship rather than suspicion, to approach God confidently, though humbly, as a child approaches a loved father.

The title of the farewell sermons, in which he tried to restate his main message, was "Christian Liberty, its meaning and limitations." Through all of them ran the double refrain, "The liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free" and "a bond-slave of Jesus Christ." His argument is that all men are inevitably the servants of some person or thing or desire, and that the only ultimately important thing about anyone is "to what or to whom he has given the right to say, 'Thou must'." With vivid illustrations, drawn one feels from personal observation, he pictures the degradation of one whose ruler is his appetites, or lust for gain or prestige until at last he ceases to deserve the proud title "man." Christ alone deserves to be the Master, because His rule alone makes people what they were destined to become. For if one turns over the control of one's life to Him, His spirit takes possession of one, dwells in one, and gradually fashions a new character in the likeness of Christ's. His mastery frees us thus from all other masteries. It gives us "the glorious liberty of the sons of God." It frees us to attain the true manhood of which we are capable. That is to say, it "saves" us. Christ is "the normal man," the demonstration of what men are meant to be both in respect of character and of relation to God.

But Christ's mastery destroys our right to do as we please. It is a real mastery. He demands obedience to His way of life. The things most incompatible with His lordship are license,

subservience to the opinions of others, and a domineering attitude. The attempt to make others conform to our ideas of what they should do is an attempt to usurp the place of the Master: it is blasphemy. To be subservient ourselves to others' opinions is to be a traitor to Him who alone has the right to command us.

Next to "liberty" his great words in the Norfolk period were "witness" and "revelation." The Church exists to bear witness to Christ as Saviour and Revealer; more specifically, to bear witness to the Resurrection as that which authenticates Him. It does not exist to save men. It cannot save them; only Christ can do that; and the sole requisite for appropriating the salvation to eternal life which He offers is faith and obedience. It does not exist to be an agency of political and social reform, though its members are under oath to exhibit justice, mercy, and integrity in their corporate as well as their private activities, and to work for such a political and social organization of life as will make for the justice, peace and well-being of all. It ought to have enormous social and political effect; but this effect is a by-product of its principal work of witnessing to Christ and so drawing the community under His transforming influence. Likewise the sacraments are witnesses. Baptism testifies that Christ's life sustains and nourishes the new life He has created in His believers. Because the witness of Baptism is lost unless that sacrament is administered publicly at regular Sunday services, Lloyd refused to administer it privately except for compelling reasons.

The Church, its ministry and sacraments were divinely ordained. Christ trained the Twelve and others so that they "might establish his Church, and in the Book of Acts is preserved our Lord's own work in perfecting the organization

of His Church." This "organization" included the three-fold ministry. In this respect Lloyd was a High Churchman from the outset.

This Church consists of the saved. "We do not become members of the Church in order that we may be saved but because we are saved." Not that Church people have any right to boast. Salvation is God's free gift, made possible by His revelation and the coming of the Holy Ghost. Nor that they can say non-Churchmen are not saved. God may very well save them quite outside the visible company; in which case they are in a sense Church members. Nor that the Church can be limited to that which has apostolic orders. It consists of all those who have faith in Christ. Membership involves responsibility rather than boasting; humble gratitude rather than self-exaltation; a task rather than ease in Zion.

God's revelation, coming to such climax and perfection in the career and teaching of Jesus that all previous revelations are practically inconsequential, is the basis of all Lloyd's teaching. By observation, men of intelligence might be led to believe in a First Cause and Law Giver and Determiner of Destiny. This, to which he thought natural science with its discoveries of a law-governed universe pointed, would lead only to terror; for we are certain to violate the laws of moral conduct as well as of physical existence because of our ignorance and folly. By revelation—and only by revelation—men believe in a God of love, a God who is Father and whom His children may approach without any shadow of fear that He will rebuff them. Their own sense of sin may cause them to hesitate in remorse; but His nature, as He has shown it in Christ, gives no substantiation to our fears. He is Love and desires yearningly that men come to Him freely.

But Lloyd stresses even more Christ's revelation of what is man's essential nature and destiny. Man is, by creation, a child of God. He is meant to be like Christ both in respect of His character and His relation to God and His victory over death and evil. Christ reveals what God intends for man; He is man "seen from the perspective of God's purpose." He shows what all men can become if they will only believe in Him and by His help obey the law of life as He lays it down. And the law of conduct He lays down is no arbitrary command but the disclosure of things as they are. It discloses the way man's nature is meant to develop, just as science shows how lower nature develops to its fulfilment. Hence, since He shows what we may become, and also helps us to attain toward that possibility, He is the cause of our profoundest rejoicing. Lloyd felt profoundly that by reason of inheritance and environment men were sure to disobey God and, if Christ did not save them, to perish eternally. But sin was a mistake; the result of ignorance and weakness; part of their animal inheritance which could be conquered by God's help; alien to their essential nature.

Beside the Bible and the Prayer Book, three writers seem to have exerted the chief influence in moulding Lloyd's thought. Answering a letter from Dr. John R. Mott in 1922, he wrote: "If I were naming the two books that seem to have helped me most in giving direction to my thought and in helping me reach conclusions for myself, I fancy that in the first place I would put the sermons of Frederick W. Robertson. He made a profound impression on me in my youth. Later Dr. DuBose's *Soteriology of the New Testament* came to me, bringing me good help in getting my own mind clear as to the fundamental relation our faith in the Incarnation bears to all human thought and development." But a careful

reading of all his extant letters, sermons, and articles points to Charles Darwin as the strongest influence of all. In his later letters he frequently refers to Darwin as the one who delivered him from uncertainty to faith, partly because he *disbelieved* in much of Darwin and partly because the idea of evolution came to him as a key to the interpretation of Christ. "I confess that the first glimmer I got of what was the significance of the Revelation was in Mr. Darwin's *Origin of Species*," he wrote his son-in-law in 1932. It seems probable that Lloyd came to think chiefly of Jesus as the crowning act of physical evolution. This final step in human development was God's supreme creative act, though all natural development Lloyd regarded as caused by God's act. In the human Jesus God was incarnate; living as a man among men, He showed the conclusion designed for the whole process. If men accepted the Revelation and obeyed the law, they were on the high-road to fulfilment; if they refused, they went off on a blind alley that must end in their destruction, as a blind alley resulted in the final destruction of the sabre-toothed tiger and the dinosaur. It is significant that in Lloyd's later years his chief reading next to history was in science; and that he gave his eldest grandson a copy of Darwin's *Descent of Man* with the remark that it was one of the most valuable books he had ever read. Apparently he took the idea of evolution and combined it with his inherited orthodoxy in his own particular fashion.

On the basis of available evidence, one is forced to conclude that Lloyd displayed but little theological or philosophical ability in Norfolk. To the philosophically minded enquirers he was of little help. One of the most brilliant men of Norfolk wrote, "I can testify to the appeal that he made to the young men and to his extraordinary personal fascina-

tion. But he had no message for the intellectual people. His reliance was on feeling, loyalty, tradition, sacred associations." His curate and devoted friend, the Rev. Dr. R. S. Coupland, wrote, "He was not much of a student as far as books are concerned. I do not think he cared anything about philosophy, theology, or logic."

It is easy to over-emphasize Lloyd's weaknesses in philosophy and logic. He had a passionate desire for the truth; such reverence that he never tried to state his own understanding of it as final or necessarily right. He always refrained on principle from dogmatic statements, never saying "It is so," but always, "It seems to me to be so" or, more often, "I being judge it is so." This was one reason why he piled up explanatory parentheses at a greater rate than even St. Paul. But his very passion for truth enabled him to perceive the heart of a matter, to cling to it and refuse to be deflected by non-essentials, even though he was unable to express concisely what he perceived.

It was this lack of philosophical ability that at times made Lloyd's relations with his bishop slightly difficult. The diocese of Virginia was divided in 1892, everything south of the James River being constituted the diocese of Southern Virginia. Bishop Randolph, who had been coadjutor of the undivided diocese and then became diocesan of Southern Virginia with his headquarters in Norfolk, was one of the most gifted thinkers in the episcopate, an inveterate student of philosophy, a keen logician, an author of distinction, and rated by Phillips Brooks as the greatest preacher in America. He had the logician's abhorrence of muddled reasoning and sentimentality, the philosopher's distrust of uncritical acceptance of dogma, the scholar's suspicion of the verbal inerrancy of the Bible.

Lloyd struck him as a muddled thinker who accepted dogmas that appealed to him without examining them and rejected those he disliked without bothering to understand them, and who relied on the factual accuracy of much in the Bible that was open to question. It was common knowledge among the Norfolk clergy that when Lloyd was elected Professor of Pastoral Theology by the Trustees of the Virginia Theological Seminary, with the understanding that he would succeed to the deanship when it should fall vacant, Bishop Randolph went to him, insisted that he totally lacked the theological learning and intellectual powers requisite for such a post and begged him to decline—which Lloyd did. The bishop had an instinctive distrust for any suggestion Lloyd might make in the discussion of diocesan affairs or policies because of distrust of his reasoning powers, but great confidence in his advice on pastoral problems.

3.

The frame building in which the congregation of St. Luke's was worshiping when Lloyd went to Norfolk was outgrown. The vestry and rector alike felt the need of a new church. In the discussion on ways and means of raising the necessary funds, Lloyd announced flat-footedly that he had no intention of being party to any concentrated drive for subscriptions. Such methods might get more money but they would get it wrongly. People would give, not because they realized the need and wanted to help meet it, but because of friendship for the canvasser or in order to do what was expected of them. The financial men shook their heads and argued. There was comparatively little wealth in the parish

and they saw no opportunity of extracting enough of it without concerted efforts. But the rector was adamant. They must do it his way or he would have no connection with it. Reluctantly they told him to do as he wanted.

On the last two Sundays in Lent, 1890, Lloyd preached to his congregation about the opportunity opened to St. Luke's and the need for a new church if that opportunity was to be met. He told them that he wanted \$25,000 for the building, either in cash or in pledges extending over five years, and that the Easter offering would be devoted to this purpose. He also told them that this was the only effort that he or the vestry would make to secure funds. The vestry and other deeply concerned people waited anxiously, feeling that there was not one chance in a hundred of the needed amount being subscribed and that the rector's announcement had tied their hands from further solicitation. Lloyd himself had grave doubts. He prayed that if this new building project were in accordance with God's will the Lord might move people to give what was necessary, but that if it were not, He would seal their purses with seven seals. On Easter morning his doubts grew stronger still as he saw how large a proportion of the congregation showed even by their clothes that they were poor. The sermon was no last-minute effort to whip people up to the point where they would increase their pledges. It dealt with the meaning of the Resurrection and ended with a quiet reminder of the purpose of the offering that day.

After the service Lloyd went home immediately. Early in the afternoon the vestrymen who had counted the gifts reported to him. In the plates they had found watches and jewelry—old heirlooms of people with no money to give but

a great desire to help in any way possible the work they believed in. There were a few large gifts and pledges—the biggest of all coming from a member of Christ Church—and a vast number of small ones from people of small means. Many of them came from people who were not regular members of St. Luke's but of other parishes, or of Presbyterian churches, and at least one from a Jew. These said they realized the power for good in the community that emanated from St. Luke's and wanted to extend it. The total of gifts and pledges amounted to approximately \$35,000.

With the money in hand a new lot was purchased. Architects' plans were examined and approved. Construction was begun. On the strength of the pledges, money was borrowed to complete the building. The first service was held in it on St. Luke's Day, October 18th, 1892.

During Lloyd's ministry the communicant list of St. Luke's grew from 254 to 590; its Sunday School from 125 pupils to 291. A mission was opened in Huntersville, conducted by members of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew with occasional services by Mr. Lloyd until its growth made necessary the entire service of an ordained clergyman. The Industrial School which Lloyd found in connection with the church was continued through 1887; then suspended because it seemed unnecessary; reopened in 1892. When he came it had forty pupils; when he left fifty-eight. The total amount spent annually within the parish rose from \$3,456 to \$8,242; the amount given to missions, from \$1,315.50 to \$2,390.10.

It was because of his total ministry, and not for eminence in any specialized field, that Lloyd was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity by Roanoke College at its Commencement in 1896.

4.

Mrs. Lloyd played an important part in her husband's Norfolk ministry. Not that she ever took a prominent part in parish affairs. Actually, she did very little; partly because of her conviction that if the rector's wife assumed large responsibilities the potential leadership of other women would not be developed, partly because she was in poor health most of the time, and partly because of the demands of her family. They had one child when they moved to Norfolk and four more were born there: Elizabeth Blackford in 1886, Gay Blackford in 1888, John in 1890, and Rebecca in 1892.

But if Mrs. Lloyd did not take any large part in the activities of St. Luke's parish, she made a very great contribution to her husband's life and work. Knowing that his strongest influence was exerted as a pastor, she insisted that he use for his study the big room just inside the front door. Often while someone was talking to him in the study, others would be waiting to see him, and these she entertained graciously in her sitting room. It soon became known that she never expected to hear what people told her husband in privacy. Not only did this make people talk to him more freely, but it won for her universal respect. This was further increased by her refusal to try to influence his decisions. On one occasion when he was called to another post, friends urged her to persuade him to remain, on the ground that Norfolk was a healthier place for growing children than a larger city. She wrote back, "I have never yet tried to tell him what to do, and I am perfectly willing to abide by his judgment now."

The Lloyd finances were always low. After he had paid for food, clothing, fuel, and schooling, there was very little

left over, and most of this was given to people in distress. In January, 1892, he preached a sermon on behalf of the Educational Society, a fund for training candidates for the ministry, one paragraph of which sounds autobiographical—"When all men know that no matter what success may attend them, or what results may follow their labors, old age or feeble health in the ministry means poverty almost beyond peradventure, men are not going to enter the ministry who are careful about their own interests. . . . The ministry must be filled from the ranks of those who heed nothing for the sake of doing what their Lord and Master wants done; knowing (because it is the inevitable result) that no matter how hard they work or what success they attain, when they die they will die in poverty, and if they leave small children, they will leave them poor and maybe dependent on the kindness of God's people for an education. Every man who devotes himself to the ministry looks this fact squarely in the face before he begins."

But it was not only financial necessity that made Arthur Lloyd's life simple. It was during the Norfolk period that he wore a hair-shirt next his skin for a while, and periodically fasted for several days. Probably nobody knew it at the time. It was not till many years later that, during a conversation about asceticism and self-discipline with his son-in-law, Bishop Dandridge, he remarked quite casually that for a time he had used such extreme measures, and that he doubted if even Mrs. Lloyd knew it. He did not divulge why he had adopted the practices, but he did say that he did not think they had been of much value. The realization that one was ever in the presence of God and a profound feeling of one's responsibility to God was far better calculated to produce self-control.

One habit formed at this period continued permanently. Observing that some of his clerical friends were over-fond of the pleasures of the table, he determined never to take a second helping of anything. From that resolve he never departed. Though not a total abstainer on principle, in practice he never kept any liquor in his house or drank any when dining out. He had such an intense loathing for drunkenness and saw so many men of every class deteriorate because of drink, that he would have nothing to do with it. His only indulgence was smoking.

In December, 1899, Lloyd left Norfolk for New York, to be General Secretary of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

It is highly doubtful if any other call could have tempted him away from Norfolk. A backwoods circuit in his native state was far more desirable in his eyes than the archbishopric of Canterbury. But missionary activity was the reason for the Church's existence. Men of prominence would not take the post at "281," as the Missions House was usually referred to. His election was a summons to a duty that he could not conscientiously evade. That it was a difficult task was an additional attraction. "No man," he told his daughter, "should ever have a job that doesn't keep his collar hot."

Chapter III

EARLY DAYS AT "281"

I.

THE DOMESTIC and Foreign Missionary Society carried on the great bulk of the missionary work of the Episcopal Church at home and abroad. Its final authority was the General Convention which met every three years. Between these gatherings full powers were exercised by a Board of Managers. This Board had a double function. It appropriated the moneys, laid down general policies, authorized or vetoed specific undertakings, appointed missionaries; also it was responsible for promoting missionary interest in the home parishes, raising funds, and recruiting volunteers for service. Coöperating with it were a number of independent organizations of which the two most important were the American Church Missionary Society, which drew its membership from the "Evangelical" wing of the Church and supported work in Brazil and Cuba, and the Woman's Auxiliary, a society of women with branches in nearly every parish to study, work, and pray for missions.

Prior to Lloyd's election as General Secretary, that office had been vacant for two years. Four widely-known and respected men had declined it, which seemed to show that clergymen of ability regarded the leadership of the Church's missionary activity as less important than the rectorship of large parishes. Almost in despair the Board had chosen Lloyd.

Most people deeply interested in missions feared he would carry altogether too little weight, since he was practically unknown outside of Virginia except by members of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, and doubted that he had adequate powers of large-scale administration.

When Lloyd learned of his election he made his decision quickly, a characteristic trait. He wrote the committee appointed to notify him: "Believing this call of the Church to be the command of Him who is the Head of the Church, I have determined to give myself to this service, relying on Him who has called to give me the right mind to perform it."

In early December he and Mrs. Lloyd went to New York to look for a place to live, leaving the children in Norfolk in charge of her sister, Miss Gay Blackford, until they had rented a house in East Orange, New Jersey. The advantages of lower rents and a yard for the children to play in more than offset the necessity of commuting to his office on "the seven-fifteen." On the fifth of that month he took over his new duties, attending his first meeting of the Board of Managers one week later.

There were two conceptions of Lloyd's position as General Secretary. A strong and influential minority thought he was to be a glorified head-clerk, managing the office, collecting information and money, communicating to the missionary bishops the Board's wishes and keeping track of their activities, making such recommendations as he desired. The majority wanted him to be the real leader of the Church's missionary work whose spirit would be felt in all parishes, whose knowledge and judgment would be respected, and whose advice would be sought alike by the Board and the missionaries. This was emphatically Lloyd's own view of his function. Convinced that the Episcopal Church had an oppor-

tunity and a responsibility unparalleled in its history, he appealed to all its membership: "To the clergy we shall look with confidence to teach the congregations throughout the Church that parishes do not exist in order that handsome buildings may be erected and that beautiful services may be rendered; but that services and buildings alike both serve but to remind the Church of her vocation. The Church is divided into dioceses and parishes in order that by thorough organization all her resources may be utilized, and that the whole body of believers may present a solid front to the enemies of her Lord, while each ministers to each strength for the contest. The demands made on her by the workers at the front forbid that she shall be content with her own adornment. To the clergy belongs the privilege of leading her to a realization of her true dignity and glory.

"To the laity we make appeal that they shall possess themselves of definite and practical knowledge of what is doing and what remains to be done in our own land, and in the lands beyond, before the Kingdom of Christ can in truth be established; in order that when the call comes for workers and treasures to meet the demands of an ever victorious struggle, and to hold the points of vantage won, it may be met with intelligent and enthusiastic response by themselves and their children after them. We ask that knowledge of what is occurring, and of the wants that actually exist, may be sought after by every member of the Church, in order that systematic prayers and offerings may become the rule in every parish. When this shall be the case, there is no question that the Church will go forward as an army with banners, to fulfil the mission committed to her by the risen Christ."

There were three men on the staff of the Board with whom Lloyd was to be intimately associated for some time to come.

The Associate-Secretary was the Reverend Joshua Kimber, a veteran of the Union Army who had had excellent business training prior to becoming the Board's bookkeeper, a post he had held for six years before being ordained and from which he had been gradually promoted. He combined the soldier's unswerving devotion to duty with an amazing ability to carry in his head a prodigious amount of the details inseparable from the administration of a far-flung enterprise and an acquaintance with missionaries exceeding that of any living person. These qualities, in addition to his intimate knowledge of everything that had been attempted during the thirty-five years before Lloyd assumed office, were invaluable to the latter.

The Treasurer of the Board, an unsalaried post, was a rich Philadelphia banker, George C. Thomas. A man of charming personality and deep culture, a gifted musician and discriminating art-collector, he was above all a devoted Christian and Churchman. For years he had been a vestryman, as well as a Sunday School teacher and superintendent, of the Church of the Holy Apostles. Because of his reputation and his position in the business and social world, he was able to secure gifts large and small. Nobody knew the full extent of his own contributions. More than anyone else, his labors secured the money to run the Society's work. Though Lloyd came to regard him as one of his most valued friends, they often disagreed. Mr. Thomas felt himself responsible for preventing the Board from appropriating more money than was actually in sight, though always eager to find more. Lloyd believed in determining the appropriations by the amounts needed and then using every legitimate means to raise the funds, trusting that the Lord would help them secure what was necessary for His work. In the financial

discussions of the Board, Mr. Thomas almost always won because of his business judgment and extreme generosity. The more they differed, however, the more devoted to one another they became.

The Corresponding Secretary was Mr. John W. Wood. He entered upon his duties the same day that Lloyd began his work. For twenty years they labored together, complementing each other remarkably. "Lloyd dreamed the dreams and Wood helped reduce them to actuality," several people have said. Lloyd would have been the first to say that much of what was accomplished during his incumbency at "281" was due to Wood's capacity for handling administrative detail and to his editorial skill which transformed *The Spirit of Missions* into the best missionary magazine published anywhere in the early years of the twentieth century. When Lloyd finally left the staff, Wood remained and continued to furnish valuable leadership until his retirement on December 31, 1940.

Important in Lloyd's work as were Messrs. Kimber, Thomas, and Wood, more important still was the Vice-President of the Board, Bishop Doane of Albany. A man of much charm and force, who carried about with him quite unconsciously the dignity of a great personality, he exercised the strongest influence of any one man over the Board's decisions, and also affected Lloyd's own thinking more deeply than did anybody else. "Of all the men with whom I have come in contact in the Church, I felt nearest to Bishop Doane," wrote Lloyd in 1933. It would be too much to say that he *moulded* Lloyd's views: Lloyd was far too independent for any person to do that. But he deeply influenced his conception of the Church's nature and mission, of the vital necessity of reunion, of the proper strategy and organi-

zation of headquarters. Lloyd consulted him constantly, both by conversation and by letters, on all his major problems of missionary administration and theology, and their views became increasingly alike. Lloyd was fascinated by Doane, admired him, loved him. So it is not strange that he was open to his influence to a rare degree.

At the beginning of his term in New York, Lloyd had two main things to do. He had to learn the exact state of the work which the Board of Managers was supporting in order that he might better advise it as to policies and details; he had also to stimulate interest in the missionary enterprise so that adequate financial support would be forthcoming. Gradually three other activities engaged his attention: efforts to reorganize the administration and financing at home; to secure more recruits for the field; to act as pastor to all the people with whom he came in touch.

Lloyd came into office in the latter part of the period of greatest missionary expansion in the history of the Christian Church. When Victoria became Queen in 1837, the Church of England supported six bishops outside the British Isles, and all of these were in British dominions and colonies. When she died shortly after Lloyd moved to New York, the number had increased to ninety-eight. Other communions had become missionary-minded in like degree. The foreign work of the Episcopal Church, small in comparison to that of several other communions, had been begun prior to the Civil War; was greatly set back by that war, and grew very slowly afterwards. By 1899 it included districts in Liberia, Japan, China, and nearer home, in Mexico and Haiti. Under the American flag, the Board maintained the district of Alaska, specific undertakings on behalf of the Negroes and Indians, a general missionary to the Swedes of the North-

west, two clergymen who ministered to deaf-mutes and workers among whites in sixteen states. All told, it supported 1,149 agents and had a budget of approximately \$294,000. The Treasurer's report showed a deficit of \$25,000. This seemed to Lloyd a very poor record for a Church whose communicants commanded so much wealth.

Lloyd very soon discovered that the mission in Liberia, the oldest of all, was small and relatively static, and that in Japan the increasing hospitality to Western ideas and institutions presented such opportunities to Christian missionaries that the two bishops there wanted as many men as possible, at the very minimum, ten within the next two years. In the Caribbean, Hawaii, and the Philippines the American Churches had vastly increased responsibilities due to the new position which the Spanish-American War had given the United States in those regions. Yet in Puerto Rico the Board had but two clergymen in a population of slightly under a million. In Cuba it maintained two American and two Cuban clergymen and two Cuban lay-readers. In Haiti there was a small independent national Church composed of seceders from Rome, with its own bishop, to which the Board made slight contributions periodically. In Mexico there was another independent Church that had broken from Rome and which the Board helped financially. A bishop of the Episcopal Church visited this Church occasionally to ordain and confirm, and it had an American clergyman as advisor and as administrator of such work as was supported directly from America.

From Central America, where there was a diocese of the Church of England, came requests for help lest the thousands of American and British citizens in that area who were nominally Anglican, and the still larger number of English-speaking Negroes and Creoles, lapse into complete indiffer-

ence and practical heathenism. In Hawaii the English Church had had a mission since 1861, and when Lloyd went to New York, negotiations were in progress to transfer it to the Episcopal Church because in 1898 the United States had acquired the Islands. In the Philippines an American Army chaplain had begun an English-speaking congregation in Manila; a clergyman sent out by the Board had initiated work among the Filipinos and Chinese; Bishop Graves of China had been assigned general supervision and after an inspection trip had asked for four men immediately. The Board was unable to send them, and the two already in the Islands were invalided home.

One of the letters Lloyd received in the early days of his secretaryship was from Bishop Graves. "Never have I been so hopeless about the Church at home. The promising work among the Filipinos and the equally promising work among the Chinese have ended for the time being. . . . The opportunity we had, and it was a great one, is gone. . . . We are losing the opportunity of the century." In answer to this letter and with the authorization of the Board, Lloyd issued a general appeal through the Church press for four men. Nineteen volunteered at once; but of these most were so old or had shown such impossible traits of personality in their previous charges that only two could be sent.

But of all the foreign work, that which occupied Lloyd's attention most for the first few years was that with the Chinese, centering around Shanghai, Nanking, and Hankow.

In 1898 the Empress-dowager had carried through a successful *coup-d'état* which made the young Emperor, eager to reform China after the Western fashion, practically her prisoner. Anti-foreign feeling increased rapidly, finding its most destructive expression in the activities of the Boxers, who destroyed foreign property, killed missionaries and many Chi-

nese Christians. This much Lloyd learned on taking office. The crisis came soon afterwards. In the early summer of 1900 the foreigners of Peking, who had all assembled in the British legation for safety, were attacked. The siege lasted more than two months until a force of over 20,000 soldiers and sailors of six nationalities fought its way up from the coast. Relief came just in time: ammunition and food were nearly exhausted; the defenders' numbers had been reduced by about 200 by wounds and death. Yet the sufferings and anxieties of the people besieged in the Peking legation were small compared with those endured by many others of every nation, whose homes and property were destroyed, who were driven from place to place, stripped of their clothing, beaten with clubs, rolled under heavy cart wheels, insulted, tortured, beheaded.

Much as he loathed the excesses of the Boxers, Lloyd was led to distrust still more deeply the huge bureaucracy that ruled China under the Manchus, opposing any reform, and whom he suspected of directing the passions of the ignorant mobs into anti-foreign and anti-Christian agitation in order to divert attention from their own rapacity. "Who are the Chinese?" wrote his chief correspondent in China, Bishop Graves. "To me they are the toiling, suffering millions that groan under injustice, not the men in power. . . . In the interest of these people I would see the sternest punishment meted out to the men that oppress them even as they persecute the Christian faith. . . . I grow very skeptical over the possibility of preserving the integrity of the Empire. There is no soundness in it. . . . It is like trying to hoop a rotten cask which bursts between the hoops. . . . The central government has gone hopelessly to pieces. It is only the steady character of the people which prevents anarchy." Graves sympathized in the

main with the rising liberal movement which sought to reform China and oust the Manchus. He was convinced that the anti-foreign feeling would increase for a time, that Britain and America would have to intervene to save their nationals from further slaughter, and that before long there might come a complete change of attitude toward the foreigners. For many of the abler Chinese thought that increasing familiarity with western education and western ways was essential for the reform of China. In seeking these things they were open not only to western science but also to western religion. When they should get into the saddle, the Christian missionaries would have an unprecedented opportunity. With these views most of the other missionaries agreed.

Under such conditions what ought to be the policy of our mission work in China? Lloyd urged before the Board that Graves was entirely correct: "There is no reason for the Church to wait for diplomacy. We have to stand aside for violence sometimes, but our policy ought to be the policy of faith. Let us go on with our work and our plans, not in forgetfulness of the changes that are coming but in reliance upon God, and then we shall be ready for all that may come. I deeply hope that we shall not be caught unprepared for the future advance, but if we are to be ready I must have more men. I need three immediately." To arouse the Church so that when the day of opportunity came its members would contribute the necessary personnel and funds became one of Lloyd's principal aims.

Within the borders of the United States the Board of Managers maintained domestic missionary work in seventeen missionary districts and forty dioceses, located in every state and Territory west of the Mississippi and in many states of the East and South, bringing aid from the Church as a

whole to the Church in places where it was not yet strong enough to support itself or to minister properly to its neighborhood. Some of this work was in mining camps, some in rural areas, some in college towns. It included the bulk of the undertakings of the Episcopal Church among Indians and Negroes and the foreign-speaking white people of the Middle West. Lloyd was speedily awakened to the fact, unrealized by most Easterners, that the section west of the Mississippi included nearly two-thirds of the country, and that in it must be met many problems of vital importance to the future religious and moral condition of the nation. From every bishop in that area came frequent letters outlining great possibilities for further developments and lamenting that the money and men available were scarcely adequate to the present operations and absolutely prevented any new undertakings. One western bishop wrote: "I have been for twelve months and more seeking at least five clergymen"; and another, "My work is growing and widening in various directions and I have great need of five good men. I call for them in vain." The rigors of the bishops' lives were made graphic for him by incidental remarks in letters, such as this sentence from West Texas, "I am writing this sixty miles from a railroad, and after finishing 150 miles of a 400 mile buggy ride."

Also on the North American continent, though outside the borders of the United States proper, was the missionary district of Alaska, organized in 1895, covering the whole of that enormous territory and staffed by lamentably few workers.

2.

Such, then, was the scope of the work for which the Board of Managers was responsible. For it Lloyd was the chief ex-

ecutive officer; for it he and the rest of the staff had to find the funds and the workers; and that meant that they had to arouse far more interest in it on the part of the Church than had ever been displayed. The interest when Lloyd went to New York was not enough to support this work. Hardly any parishes agreed with him that the first charge upon any congregation after its *essential* expenses had been met was missions. Most of them would give only what they did not want for themselves.

From September 1, 1899, to February 1, 1900, nearly half the fiscal year, the offerings amounted to barely one-quarter of the sum appropriated for that year. And there was a deficit from the past. Several of the Board felt it had been a mistake to undertake so much work and wanted to curtail it. To Lloyd this was impossible. He was tremendously gratified when a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Greer of New York reported that fall, "Your committee are most earnest in their advocacy of the proposition that we shall not ask ourselves how much work we can get for the means expected, but rather decide what is incumbent upon us as a Church to do in view of our increased opportunities and then go and get the means necessary to prosecute that work."

This was Lloyd's view precisely; but it meant raising more money and that involved more and better publicity. Almost his first effort to increase that knowledge of missions which he felt was the chief thing necessary if adequate funds were to be raised displayed what Miss Emery called, "a courage born not only of ignorance but of an unconquerable persuasion that what he believed to be right must be attempted under however difficult conditions." He inaugurated a series of monthly meetings at the Church Missions House for the clergy of greater New York to discuss the problems of the

missionary enterprise, and to try to devise plans for a more systematic extension of intelligent interest. But, as Miss Emery observed, this slow process of spiritual and intellectual missionary training did not appeal sufficiently to hold the clergy of the New York parishes, and the meetings lasted only a year.

Lloyd's diary shows the amount of traveling and speaking he did during his early years in his efforts to arouse the people of the Episcopal Church to their responsibilities. In January, 1900, besides meetings in New York City, he visited Boston, Providence, six cities in Connecticut, Long Island City and Flushing, Philadelphia and Baltimore. His March engagements took him to Pittsburgh, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Des Moines, and later to Providence, Waterbury, several New Jersey towns, Washington, and Richmond. In May he attended the Convention of the diocese of Arkansas and visited several towns in that state, in addition to a tour of up-state New York. June saw him in Newburgh, New York, around the diocese of Indianapolis, to the convention of West Virginia and several towns in Virginia. During the summer he preached and went to see interested individuals in New Jersey and Long Island. In October he visited the dioceses of Kentucky, Lexington, and Ohio. For the rest of the year he confined his travels to the North and East.

This traveling, with its crowded schedules which forced him to be continually at his best, was far from easy for him. He usually returned from a long journey in a state of near exhaustion. But he would never admit he was sick and would never go to bed for a rest, because he thought that to go to bed was the surest way of becoming sick. If one surrendered one's self completely to the Christ's healing influences

through prayer and the sacraments and obedience to His commands, He would give one the health necessary for doing the work He wanted one to do. Therefore, the best way to keep fit was to do one's duty, husbanding one's strength and giving the body the best care one could, but utterly disregarding its pleas when they conflicted with duty.

Sometimes he made demands on his body that seemed to others very dangerous. For instance, he began his trip to the West in 1901 in flat defiance of his doctor's orders. The physician had warned him that he was threatened with pneumonia and refused to be responsible for what might happen unless he went to bed for a week. But Lloyd answered that it was his duty to make the scheduled addresses and that to go was the best way of avoiding the disease. The doctor was so worried that he got Lloyd's schedule from "281" and wired to physicians in every city he was to visit, asking them to keep him under close observation. Lloyd got better each day. The only concessions he ever made to the pleas of his family and doctors came in the last six months of his life. He then agreed to take his bath in the evening instead of before breakfast and to have breakfast in bed.

Those who realized that Lloyd had considerably less reserve strength than most men marveled at the amount of work he accomplished, far more than many much more robust people. Yet his secret was simple: it was faith and prayer. He learned to conserve his vitality by relaxation and by never worrying; he constantly tapped spiritual sources of energy by prayer and sacrament; he refused to pamper himself. Thus he could bring all his powers to bear on important questions as they arose. He even learned to make capital out of his weaknesses. For nearly a year he suffered

from insomnia and friends urged him to take a long rest. He kept steadily at his work and, as he put it, "was shown how to rest and relax, and in the meanwhile had added opportunities to consult the Head Office and to correct perspective."

Thenceforward Lloyd constantly went around the towns and cities in the East which he could reach by an overnight journey or less, and also made several trips further afield. Altogether he was away from New York about two thirds of the time.

Several unpleasant things happened in New York which led Lloyd to write at least three members of the Board that he would resign unless things were put on a more satisfactory basis. On one occasion the Treasurer called a secret committee meeting to investigate one of Lloyd's subordinates. Lloyd's position was that he was responsible for the work of his department. If it was not satisfactory his resignation was ready. But if he were to be of any use, he had to be free to pick his own assistants and to hold them responsible to himself, a course which was impossible if the Treasurer or Board members tried to direct them. Mr. Thomas and Bishop Satterlee saw the point, agreed entirely, and won the Board to Lloyd's view. In addition, Lloyd was irked by carelessness on the part of some of the members who lost documents and committee reports and then expected him to know what had become of them, and at the difficulty of getting the newer and more active members of the Board on the most important committees because of the proprietary attitude the older members took toward such positions. This sort of thing made him feel that the machinery for operating the missions was wrong. There ought to be a unified budget for all the work of the general Church and one board controlling the allotment of all funds; the board to whom this was entrusted ought to be

chosen more wisely and its executive agent ought also to be its president. It was twenty years before this dream was realized.

3.

It was at the General Convention in San Francisco in October, 1901, that Lloyd first made a serious and widespread impression. He spoke to the triennial meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary. The members of the Auxiliary had contributed generously to various missionary bishops who had won their sympathy. Their gifts had made possible the erection of new buildings and the initiation of new work at times when the Board could not finance such enterprises. But the work thus begun had to be supported, and the constant gifts for "specials" detracted from what was available to the Board for regular appropriations. In 1901 the Auxiliary had raised in money and boxes a total of \$421,000, but of this only \$65,000 had been put at the disposal of the Board to support work already in hand. Lloyd brought these facts home to the women, reminded them that they should share as well as supplement the work of the Board, and asked for an annual contribution of at least \$100,000 for current expenses, arguing that it was extremely inefficient to give large sums for new work when there was not enough to carry on what had already been undertaken and that there ought to be no "specials" except such as the Board approved.

To the session of the General Convention which was devoted to missions Lloyd insisted that though there was a larger deficit than ever the situation was very hopeful; for the deficit was due not to failure but to success. "The work has grown, as all living things must, and to meet that growth

appropriations have been increased \$150,000 in the past six years. If the appropriations for the year just closed had been the same as for 1895 there would be no deficit but a balance of \$81,000. This is a measure of the growth, and that means the health, of the work." He then went on to say that whereas at least \$625,000 a year was needed to maintain the present work, the assured income available for appropriations was only \$450,000. But Episcopalians had contributed approximately \$16,000,000 to a variety of causes within their dioceses and parishes, and that sum was a guarantee that the Church as a whole could not only wipe out the \$100,000 deficit but provide adequately for an enlarged missionary program. To that enlargement he urged them with all the force of his utterly simple devotion to Christ.

Lloyd's addresses to the Woman's Auxiliary and other groups was responsible, at least in part, for the decreased proportion of contributions to specials in the ensuing year. But the proportion was still unsatisfactory, and during most of his tenure of office he was trying to rectify it. He was also partly responsible for General Convention's authorizing the Board to apportion to each diocese its pro rata share of the total amount required, with the understanding that each diocese would furnish the quota thus assigned, and to appoint unsalaried secretaries in the seven major geographical areas of the United States to assist in its promotional work. The need for some such steps were obvious. The appropriations had to be made at the beginning of the fiscal year and, therefore, of necessity were based on expectations rather than on cash in hand. Consequently it was essential to find some way by which the Board could be certain that the income it had been led to expect would actually be forthcoming.

Lloyd was pleased that General Convention divided the

work in China into two districts, the work around Hankow being made a separate jurisdiction, and that it created the new district of Salina in Western Kansas. Even more he applauded the decision to organize new missionary districts in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Honolulu, and the Philippine Islands.

At this General Convention some members of the Board who opposed Lloyd tried to get rid of him by nominating him for the bishopric of Salina. His election was prevented largely by the efforts of Bishops Graves of Shanghai, McKim of Tokyo, Francis of Indianapolis, formerly a missionary in Japan, and Mr. Wood.

The Board member who was most determined to get rid of Lloyd was Mr. J. P. Morgan. The reasons for his opposition were generally believed to be two. Thinking that he took his duties on the Board entirely too lightly, Lloyd had called on Mr. Morgan one day and said that he did not want more of the latter's money but that he certainly did want more of his time and interest if he proposed to remain on the Board. Mr. Morgan was unaccustomed to being reproved and never liked Lloyd from that time onward. The two men clashed on another occasion. Mr. Morgan greatly disliked the Catholicism of the diocese of Fond du Lac, to which the Board made annual contributions, and became especially angered at the ceremonial used at the consecration of Bishop Weller in 1900. He remarked that if the Board would cut out its contribution to that diocese it need never fear another deficit. Lloyd disliked Catholic ceremonial at that time as much as did Mr. Morgan, but he thought the latter's proposal intolerable.

From this Convention onward, the missionary bishops regarded Lloyd as their main advocate. They knew he was not concerned, as many people were, to hold them down lest

they should make it necessary for the Board to raise more money, but that his concern was to lead the Board into raising by any and every means as much money as they needed for the work they could do. And the Churchfolk who were interested in missions realized that he would keep prodding the Church, gently but unceasingly, to make expansion of the activities possible.

All the changes in machinery affected by General Convention were excellent. Lloyd had been suggesting them as persuasively as he could to people of influence on the Board and in the Convention. *The Spirit of Missions* had been advocating them for nearly a year. But change of heart was needed even more than change of machinery. So after General Convention adjourned Lloyd took to the road again to continue his attempts to change the hearts of Episcopalians.

One week-end visit was to the Secretary for New England, the Reverend James DeWolf Perry, then rector of Christ Church, Fitchburg, Massachusetts. At breakfast Sunday morning the rector served cocoa, apologizing for having forgotten that his visitor might prefer coffee. He was much relieved to see Lloyd drink it with evident relish. It was not till several years later that he learned that Lloyd loathed cocoa and regarded the breakfast cup of coffee as the most important dietetic feature of the day. Mr. Perry took him into the church and showed him that in the sanctuary there was no stone altar but a wooden table, made with legs and easily moved. He asked Lloyd's advice whether to replace this table with a stone altar. Lloyd besought him not to change, saying that though the sacrificial symbolism of the altar was proper and necessary, it was equally important to preserve the symbolism of the Table, the family meal of the Christian Church at which the Master was the unseen Host.

In June, 1902, Lloyd was elected rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, Virginia. He was pleased that his boyhood parish should have such confidence in him but was persuaded to decline it by Bishop Doane.

4.

In 1902 Lloyd took his first real vacation, something he badly needed. A missionary home on furlough was asked to take the place of one of the secretaries who was ill. After three months of work, and of observing Lloyd's activities, he wrote, "I would rather drive over the range of Lebanon in mid-winter through snow three feet deep, or in August in a scorching sirocco, or preach on a housetop in a bitter north wind, or in a harvest field with the black flies swarming until the white canvas of the tent was as black as Pittsburgh, or teach Hodge's theology through Arabic gutters, than to undergo for a series of years the mental and physical strain required of a foreign missionary secretary."

Lloyd went abroad with his wife's uncle, Dr. Blackford. They visited Edinburgh, Melrose, Carlisle, Durham, York, and London, arriving at the capital in time to witness the coronation of Edward VII. They had planned to go on to Germany and Switzerland, returning via Paris and Cherbourg, but something forced them to cancel the entire visit to the continent. They landed in New York, just six weeks after they had sailed, and went straight from the ship to Alexandria. It is impossible to determine whether Dr. Blackford had become ill and had to be taken home; or whether Mrs. Blackford's health had brought them both back; or whether it was Mrs. Lloyd's condition.

The night before sailing from New York, Lloyd wrote a letter to his wife, to be given her in case of any accident to

him. With minute accuracy it listed his outstanding notes, totaling \$2300, and the insurance policies he carried, totaling \$14,000, the largest of which was deposited as collateral for his principal loan. It noted also that his brother owed him \$1200. It expressed regret at not leaving his policies entirely unencumbered but explained why he had had to borrow. It made her his sole heir and executrix, suggested as business advisors Mr. Thomas and Messrs. Myers and Grandy of Norfolk, and urged, "*Have no money transactions with kin-folk, either yours or mine.*" (Italics his.) Then it went on, "I want to thank you for the many years of devotion with which you have enriched me. I want to thank you for the refinement of purity that has inspired me to try to be pure.

"I want to commend to you to teach my children constantly that the only human life is the life Jesus Christ will give to all who ask Him, and that the only human living is to be His faithful servant by the help He gives.

"And now my dear wife, if I am not spared to return I commend you and the children to the care of our Heavenly Father with the same confidence that I commit myself to His love; in the sure confidence that by the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ we shall be brought together in one at His appearing. May His grace and strength be yours always."

Lloyd kept this letter after he returned. There are subsequent entries on it, indicating that the notes mentioned had been paid and the policy returned, and that in April, 1903, he secured a loan from Mr. Thomas of \$3500, "which is now my only outstanding obligation."

Lloyd had to watch his finances very closely these early years. His house rent in East Orange was \$50 a month. The education of his younger children was a considerable item. He had made loans to his brother John, and his sister Mrs.

Woolfolk wrote from time to time for help. His nephew, a student at medical school, asked him to endorse his note, which Lloyd gladly did though it meant pledging his small property as security at a time when he was in difficulties himself. In addition, he had to pay his share of the taxes on the family property at Mount Ida, as well as of the interest on its mortgage.

One amusing financial incident occurred when Bishop Randolph, on a visit to New York, borrowed some money from him. In a few days Lloyd received a letter from the bishop saying he was returning the five dollars. The next day came another letter apologizing for having forgotten to enclose the five dollars in his earlier communication, and then a third one in which the bishop remarked that he had suddenly remembered the loan had been ten dollars and was forwarding the balance.

Chapter IV

THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S WORK

I.

FROM THE AUTUMN of 1901 to the summer of 1909 the Church's missionary work doubled in extent. The total number of missionaries increased from 1,149 to 2,308; the budget rose from a little over half a million to more than a million dollars. This growth raised serious questions of policy; it demanded increased financial support, more efficient administrative machinery, and more volunteers. With these problems Lloyd struggled week in and week out. In addition, his pastoral work grew. He made a trip to the Orient to examine the work in the field. Five times he had to choose between an episcopate and his post as General Secretary.

No man can be effective at any task without a clear conception of the true function and importance of the organization in which he works. Lloyd's ideas on missionary policy and organization were the outgrowth of a clear conception of the function of the Church, which, in turn, was the result of his convictions about the nature of Christianity. In the summer of 1908 he delivered a series of lectures on missions at the Harvard Summer School which were shortly published under the title *Christianity and the Religions*, the only book he ever wrote. He made many addresses and wrote many letters on the same general subject during this period. Of the letters, the most important are those exchanged with Father George Tyrrell. From these sources can be learned why he

thought the Church's mission imperative and what he regarded as the chief obstacles to its successful prosecution.

To understand the book and the articles, two things must be borne in mind. In the first place, he deliberately refrained from using technical theological terms and (usually) common devotional language, because they would carry either no meaning at all or else the wrong meaning to people who had not been trained in theology or had not had the experience that once made the devotional language so real. This is the reason why he did not talk about "saving souls" or speak of Redemption. He tried to state great Christian convictions in the language of every day and to express its philosophy in common contemporary categories. The only theological terms he used frequently were Revelation (because he felt it could hardly be misunderstood; yet he was always careful to define it) and Messiah.

In the second place, he attached to some common words his own arbitrary meaning. The most important instance of this was his use of "human." By it he meant Christ-like man, man who had attained his destiny, man guided and controlled by the spirit of God, "redeemed" man. Ordinary people, "unregenerate" man, were not yet human; they were clever animals who might become human. His justification for using the word in this sense is simple: any living organism is understood only in the light of its highest development. The mighty tree, not the acorn, defines the species "oak," for the tree reveals what the acorn can become. So Christ and not the brute or the exploiter defines "humanity," for Christ makes plain what man can become. If this special connotation of the word "human" be borne in mind, his thought will not strike one as being so naïvely over-optimistic as otherwise it will seem. But it may be questioned how many

of his hearers or readers realized that he was using the word in this specialized sense.

The other most important specialized meaning he employed was that attached to the word "religion." We shall see more of what he means by that directly.

The book and the addresses deal primarily with the apologetic for missions. Very little is said about administration or methods. The gist of his argument is summed up in the book's title, *Christianity and the Religions*. Religion is man's search after God, man's effort to raise himself to God and achieve right relations with God, to safeguard himself against the terrors of the unknown future. Its usual procedure consists of attempts to placate angry spirits—either by magic or asceticism or humanly invented law. "Priestcraft" is its fruit—and he told Tyrrell plainly that the Roman priesthood seemed to him definitely anti-Christian. Not only primitive religions but Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Confucianism represent such efforts. They deserve respect because they have produced noble souls. But they deserve pity because they cannot achieve their goal. The Ultimate Reality is the Unknown, and is forever unknowable by human efforts at discovery.

Christianity is not a religion at all. Man had no initiative in it. The initiative came entirely from God. It is Revelation. It is the act of the Unknown Reality to make plain what man could never learn by himself: on the one hand, His own nature and purpose, and on the other the nature and destiny of man. The Revelation showed that God is Father, that His nature is basically love and His purposes beneficent. It showed that man is no mean thing but one who can become related to God as son and "co-worker, co-thinker and co-sufferer for the brotherhood;" who can commune with Him face to face,

immediately; who can become in character such as Jesus was; who is heir of eternal life in fellowship with God. Consequently, he is a creature of incomparable dignity. But the attainment of his possibilities depends entirely on his having released within him the Spirit of his Father; and this in turn happens only as he accepts the Revelation and lives by it, obeying the teachings of the Revealer. It shows how man is meant to live. If men will thus obey and be re-created, they can form a society that functions like a family, in which life for all members will exceed men's fondest dreams, for the same Spirit that makes them unselfish and coöperative also inspires scientific research and enables them to harness the powers of nature. But only such men—men who have become "fully human"—can form a family-like society. Men who remain clever animals will form societies whose pattern is the wolf-pack.

Lloyd rarely used the words "sin" or "redemption." But he believed in both. Sin is ignorance of the Father; it is ignorance and violation of the law of human life, caused chiefly by the deceit of riches, inertia, the power of man's passions, and the lust for power. Unless this sin be overcome, man's new knowledge of physical nature "makes him the most ruthless beast of prey that has yet appeared on the earth." It will not be "outgrown." But God had acted to redeem men, though many of them knew it not nor appropriated His offer. "My mind and heart are fixed specially . . . on those of God's people who, though redeemed, neither know their Father nor have the abundance of life and the liberty which the Christ promised shall be the possession of all who receive the Truth."

Men are "redeemed" by the Revelation or the Messiah or the Truth. Lloyd uses the words practically interchangeably.

It frees them from the fear of God and of death which haunt all non-Christians, so that they find their significance as fellow-workers with God in this life and beyond the grave. It frees them from the fear of nature, so that instead of trying to propitiate its evil spirits they investigate its secrets scientifically and learn to use its hidden forces. Lloyd makes a good deal of the point that Science, and all the material betterment it has brought in medicine, agriculture, etc., is a by-product of Christianity and possible only when Revelation has set men free from the fear of evil spirits. It frees them from the fear of other men and of what they can do to them, for it shows them that nothing can degrade a person or do him any final harm except what he chooses and does himself, and that no priestly caste (whether called Christian or not) can prevent their direct access to their Father. It frees them from the fear of temptations and of evil by showing them that every temptation can be overcome, here or in the future life, if the struggle be resolutely sustained, and that evil, though it may torture and murder men, cannot rob them of their destiny.

Such is the nature of Christianity and its distinction from the religions.

Christ, the Revealer and Messiah, founded the Church and set as its nucleus the Apostles and the men they should choose to be their successors. There is no mention here — as in the Norfolk sermons — that in the forty days between Easter and the Ascension Christ perfected the organization. The importance of this “succession” is that it constitutes a line of living witnesses by whose testimony men of this generation may know that their faith goes back not to some human book or thinker, however great, but to a divine revelation.

In his letters to Tyrrell he strongly attacked the "hierarchical" conception of the ministry because it meant "there is no mode of approach to the Father other than through the priest," and this proposition completely denied the basic fact of the Revelation. Hierarchy and priesthood he regarded as perversions due to "the disposition to devise means by which it (*i.e.*, the Church) may control men's bodies." Tyrrell replied, "I interpret 'orders' in a ministerial and representative sense. Bishops are but servants of the servants of God. The greatest is the least; *i.e.*, the most serviceable of servants. But this implies a hierarchy of services. The mischief lies in the 'magisterial' interpretation of authority."

Christ also gave the Church Baptism to be a pledge and seal of life eternal given through Christ, and the Holy Communion to be an assurance of heavenly nourishment. To the Church Christ gave command to continue His work of making known by deed and word the Fatherhood of God, the destiny and dignity and way of life for man. The Church does not make people good nor save them; only God does that. The Church bears witness to the Revelation.

Missionary activity is unavoidable for Christians. One is Christian in proportion as one is indwelt and controlled by the Holy Spirit. If one is indwelt by Him, one cannot help exhibiting His characteristics, the chief of which are witnessing to the Christ and serving men with divine love.

But other considerations urge to missionary activity. Gratitude for the Revelation and for the Eternal life thus opened up, gratitude for the immense capabilities God has given men to subdue this earth and make it the scene of fruitful, creative existence, gratitude for the spirit of coöperation and friendliness, of truth and purity, that makes life in Christian communities so much better than in pagan ones, compels

those who have learned of God as He truly is to share what they have received with all men. Self-interest indicates the same course. For whatever the non-Christian nations of the Orient do or become will vitally affect those which have heard the Revelation, and if they be not taught the knowledge and obedience of God they will ruin the West by the science and technology the West is already teaching them. Likewise, wealth is destructive of its possessors unless they use it to further God's purpose of salvation.

The main obstacles the missionary enterprise has to meet are the wretched presentations of their cause its advocates make, the conduct in non-Christian lands of traders and politicians from supposedly Christian nations, and disunity; and the most serious of these is disunity. Disunity resulted, in the first instance, from the attempts of men to exercise ecclesiastical tyranny over others so that they were forced to choose between liberty and the Church; and it is proof of the extent to which the Revelation had opened men's eyes to their destiny that they dared to choose liberty. "As I understand it, individual men for their own interests and to carry out their own purposes, separated the Roman Communion from the Catholic Church by adding to and taking from the Revelation, substituting as you happily say, theology for the Revelation," and requiring of men "that which is practically sacrilege, the surrender of a man's intelligence into another man's keeping," he wrote Tyrrell. The Council of Trent made Romanism another "religion." And disunity was due secondly, to men's insistence upon putting their own opinions, speculations, and formularies in place of the Revelation. To the Federal Council he proposed that all present should make a compact that for twelve months "each man refuse to preach one single sermon defending or defining his pet

theological definition and every man preach every Sunday trying to make men understand the meaning of the incarnation of the Word of God."

Though there is little in this book that was not present at least in germ in his earlier sermons and articles, there are some interesting developments. His thought of liberty has become positive. It is both freedom from fear and the reverent appropriation of sonship at any cost. Eternal life or salvation is the fully human life which is given from on high by God's Spirit and over which death has no power. While still maintaining that control of large accumulations of capital is as much a divine trust as artistic ability and makes one potentially of tremendous service to mankind if that wealth be used aright, there is an entirely new emphasis on the desperate danger presented by wealth and on the destructiveness of western civilization apart from Christianity. While there is fresh insistence that all that is best in Western civilization is a by-product of men's having been liberated by the Revelation, there is equal vehemence that it is no part of the Church's mission to transplant Western civilization.

Several weaknesses strike one as one reads *Christianity and the Religions*.

The whole argument for missions rests on the assertion that Christianity is Revelation and that the religions have no revelation. One wishes Lloyd had established this premise more securely. If one agrees in advance, the rest of his argument carries weight. If one has some questions about it, they are never so much as touched upon.

There is a confidence which subsequent events have disproven that Western nations, having been taught the Revelation would respond to it increasingly and develop a worthy civilization. Lloyd thinks that the Western world has been

inoculated to such an extent that it can never turn its back on the Revelation or fail to develop slowly and steadily, — albeit painfully and with set-backs on the way, — toward the life of the family. One feels that for all his awareness of sin, Lloyd underestimated its power. It is doubtful if this was due to his thinking of an inevitable moral and spiritual evolution; probably it was because like all men of his day he had not the understanding of the satanic possibilities in group action which students since the First World War have achieved.

One is not impressed by power of logic or incisiveness of argument. But one does feel the power of moral passion and of penetrating spiritual insight. It is not a work of theological strength but of strength of faith and character. The lectures probably carried more weight with those who heard the man deliver them than the book does to one who reads its printed pages.

2.

As chief executive officer of the Board, Lloyd had to make recommendations on matters of missionary policy. A few of his major problems will illustrate the type of questions with which he had to deal.

What attitude should the Board and its secretaries take to the Boards of the various Protestant Churches and their agents?

Before Lloyd entered upon his office, the Board had accepted an invitation to be represented at the Ecumenical Conference, held in New York in 1900, and appointed Lloyd as one of its delegates. There had been previous international missionary gatherings — but this was far more important than they. Ex-President Harrison was chairman; President

McKinley and Governor Roosevelt were among the speakers; the vindication of missions was so conclusive that it marked a new stage in the enterprise. Lloyd was impressed with the importance of such meetings, not only for promotional purposes but also for the exchange of ideas on matters of policy and administration and for unifying the impact of the Christian forces on the non-Christian world. Thenceforward he took an increasingly active part in the annual conferences of Foreign Boards of the United States and Canada and in the more frequent meetings of the secretaries of various boards in New York. The more he learned about the work in the fields, the more he became concerned for the union of the various Churches therein. Consequently, he supported the proposal of the Presbyterians that an international and interdenominational committee be empowered to arrange for the division of territory in the various fields so that different communions might work in different sections. This seemed to him the best substitute for unity and a step toward it. Later, in 1906, when our missionaries asked the Board's permission to join the proposed federation of all Christian Churches in China, he strongly supported them.

Lloyd's vigorous advocacy of coöperation and unity with Protestant missions made him suspect of many of the Anglo-Catholic wing in his own Church. The Bishop of Chicago refused to allow one of Lloyd's assistants into his diocese and accused the Board of becoming partisanly "low Church" and thereby alienating "hundreds of thousands of dollars which would otherwise be gladly contributed by earnest Churchmen." Since Lloyd was convinced that such charges were ill-founded, he paid very little attention to them and continued to press for what seemed to him the right policy.

A cognate question was the attitude of Episcopal mission-

aries to those of the Roman Church. The Roman Catholic friars in the Philippines had won for themselves so great an antipathy from the mass of the Filipinos that had the American government attempted in 1902 to restore to them the lands they claimed, it would have been forced to use large numbers of troops. As the complete separation between Church and State was a primary tenet of the American government such a course was out of the question. Instead, it offered to pay \$5,000,000 — a very generous offer since there seemed considerable question about title of some of the property — on condition that the friars should all leave the Islands permanently. The Vatican claimed for some time that it had no authority to order such a withdrawal. The Board of Managers, Lloyd, and Bishop Brent all thought the offer eminently fair. Should they try to take advantage of the Filipino distrust of the friars and win to the Episcopal missions members of the Roman obedience? The decision was in the negative. There was no desire to profit at Rome's expense.

This was not the last time Lloyd had to think about the Roman Catholics. Bishop Hare had established four schools for the Indians in South Dakota that were supported partly by the Church and partly by the Government, and four more supported entirely by the Government. The Government, acting as trustee for the Indians, was bound to make provision for their education, and for some time it did this by giving grants to missionary schools. It then decided not to contract further with denominational agencies to furnish schooling to the Indians, and later still, not to furnish Indian children in Church schools the ration money they would get if they remained on the reservations. As a result of this change in policy, Bishop Hare had to shut up all but two of his schools.

However, even after these decisions and Bishop Hare's

action the Roman Church received a contract from the Government guaranteeing \$98,000 a year in return for the education of a specified number of Indians, and as a result were able to operate several large schools in which naturally they taught the Roman dogmas and practices. This seemed manifestly unfair. A meeting was held on April 5, 1905, of the secretaries and other representatives of all Boards having work with the Indians; Lloyd and Bishop Hare representing the Episcopal Church. After careful discussion of the legal matters involved, Bishop Hare was delegated to prepare a memorandum for presentation to President Roosevelt. Lloyd worked with him in drafting it. In the meanwhile, further efforts were made by the Jesuits and by Roman authorities in Washington to secure the continuation, and if possible the enlargement, of this grant. Finally, early in 1906, a committee waited on the President and the Indian Commissioner and reviewed the whole situation. They were assured that it would be rectified, and also that in the future the whole policy of allocating Indian trust funds and Indian treaty funds was to be changed in the interest both of the Indians and of the various agencies working for their welfare.

Part of the antagonism to missionaries in China was due to the privileges claimed by Roman missionaries and accorded them on the insistence of the French government; for though the latter had repudiated Romanism at home it was sponsoring it in the Far East. When several years' friction in Nanchang resulted in the murder of six Roman missionaries, the French Foreign Office extracted a treaty whereby the Chinese Government agreed to pay an indemnity of \$400,000 to the families of the dead men and \$200,000 to the mission, to build a memorial hospital, to punish the ringleaders in the riot and the magistrate with whom the

missionaries had had trouble. The terms of this treaty seemed so unnecessarily severe, and the interference with Chinese magistrates by the Romanists so patent, that protests were evoked not only from Chinese but from foreigners, like the editor of *The North China Herald* and the Bishop of Durham.

The hostility aroused by Romanists involved others. An attack was made on a Presbyterian station and several of its staff killed. The Government offered to pay a similar indemnity which was promptly declined, an act of good will of which Lloyd profoundly approved and one that immediately won appreciation from the Chinese Government, though it did not greatly affect the great mass of Chinese who knew not of it.

Another question was that of organizing a self-governing Japanese diocese. It had been a major tenet of the Episcopal missionary work from the outset — as indeed of most non-Roman missions — that the aim was to establish as quickly as possible independent branches of the Church. An independent branch of the Anglican communion meant one that was self-governing. It would have its own assembly or convention as the final authority in all matters of doctrine, discipline, and worship. To this convention alone would its bishops and clergy be responsible. But before the Board could relinquish its control it had to have assurance that the native Christians were sufficiently mature to guarantee that a Church under their sole control would remain Christian in its faith and ethic. They also had to be assured that the native Church could support itself.

In May, 1904, Bishop McKim of Tokyo wrote that the bishops in Japan felt convinced that there were Japanese clergymen eminently qualified in learning, character, and

leadership for the episcopate and that consequently it might become possible to organize in the near future a Japanese-controlled diocese with a Japanese bishop. But before they took further steps toward organizing it, they had to have answers to several questions.

For one thing, the Japanese had not yet quite enough money in hand to support their bishop. Would the Board pay part of his salary till the balance was available in Japan? If it would, the creation of an independent diocese could be hastened. Lloyd advised the Board to refuse to do this, on the ground that it would be better for the future of the Japanese Church if they supported their bishop entirely from the start, for this would remove any possible chance of such officials being regarded as the agents of the foreigners.

In Japan there was a good deal of institutional work which the Japanese Christians could not hope to support for some time to come. Would the Board support the schools and hospitals and other institutions within the jurisdiction of a Japanese bishop who owned allegiance only to the Japanese convention and none at all to the American Episcopal Church? Lloyd urged that it should continue to support existing institutions as long as necessary; but the Board added that so long as these were supported from America they must be administered by the Board and its agents, rather than by a Japanese bishop over whom the Board had no authority. It took this position on the ground that the people from whom the Board got the money to support such work were entitled to have that work administered by their own representatives.

In any new diocese there would be Japanese clergy and catechists whom the native Christians could not support for sometime. Would the Board support the evangelistic workers under the jurisdiction of a Japanese bishop? Agreeing

with Lloyd's position, the Board replied in the affirmative. It would support them under precisely the same conditions as governed evangelistic work under American bishops, but after any mission had been established securely, the contributions to it would be gradually decreased.

The Japanese mission illustrated another fact to Lloyd. The Roman work was done by priests and nuns, all celibates, all receiving a bare living. The Episcopal mission was staffed largely by married clergymen and laymen, with a few bachelors and unmarried women workers. They had to be given enough to support a family, educate children and provide against sickness. A given amount of money would go much further in Roman than in Episcopal work. In Japan the Roman Church maintained 279 missionaries and the Episcopalians 66. Lloyd did not know the exact cost to the Roman Church but suspected that it was not much above that of the Episcopalians. This naturally forced several questions. Was celibacy the right policy for the mission field on pragmatic grounds even though Anglicanism was committed to a married ministry as the normal rule? Strenuously he rejected this idea — as did most of the missionary bishops — on the ground that a happily-married man was more effective than one forced to be a celibate and that there was no stronger testimony to Christianity than Christian homes. The added expense was more than justified by the increased effectiveness and by the unofficial influence of the wives and the homes.

Another question was how to deal with a bishop who was incompetent. In the Episcopal Church a missionary bishop had very large powers, and the success of the work in his district depended very largely on the quality of his leadership. In 1909 Lloyd learned that one of them had unques-

tionably lost the respect of his native and American staff and was so arbitrary as to be very hard to work with. Members of his staff asked Lloyd to have him removed in order to save the work. The General Secretary had no power to take such a step. Some of the Board argued that it had no right to declare the position vacant unless the incumbent were duly tried and deposed on grounds affecting his faith and morals; that ineffectiveness was not a sufficient cause for removal. Lloyd hated trials because they always did harm to the Church, for a time at least, and in this case the evidence against the bishop's character was highly circumstantial; so he made no effort to have him tried. Nothing was done to relieve the situation.

Lloyd was also much exercised over the difficulties missionaries had in educating their children. There were proper school facilities for them in but very few of the foreign fields, and the cost of sending them to the States was out of the reach of missionary salaries. He brought the matter up before several meetings of the Board as early as 1903 and finally persuaded it to adopt the policy of allowing to a missionary who had served ten years \$250 for each child between the ages of twelve and twenty-one who was being educated in America, provided such appropriations should not be made for more than two children of any one family at the same time; and smaller amounts were allocated for children educated in the field.

3.

Beside matters of policy, Lloyd had to devote much time to matters of administration. These concerned chiefly raising money, developing better methods of promotion, recruiting workers, integrating all the administrative machinery.

When Lloyd first went to "281," the Board had an accumulated deficit of a little under \$100,000. By the meeting of General Convention in October, 1907, it had become \$138,000. The increase in appropriations seemed the least possible in view of the expanding work; but the contributions did not increase equally. The deficit was kept from growing only by the unremitting labor of the whole staff at "281" to raise more funds, and by the spirit of those devoted folk whose attitude was summed up in a letter Lloyd got from a clergyman in a hard and lonely parish in the mountains of North Carolina: "How I should like to do what I pray others may do in the way of offerings for the work. I have given only my poor self; but unfortunately that is all I have."

One way Lloyd attacked the problem was by persuading individuals and groups to designate a larger proportion of seen his efforts in this direction at General Convention in 1901. He kept them up steadily, and with increasing success, so that in 1907 the Woman's Auxiliary gave \$250,000 for the support of existing work and only \$10,000 for a special. But of the wealthy individuals who contributed substantial sums a considerable number continued to put most of their gifts into specials. Increasing observation of the work deepened Lloyd's opposition to this practice, not only because of the need of funds for maintaining work previously initiated, but even more because he discovered that missionaries received special gifts not in proportion to the real importance of the undertakings they represented but in proportion to their ability for dramatic speech. This was the main reason for his growing insistence on a unified budget and program.

Another attack on the financial problem was the appor-

tionment plan adopted by General Convention in 1901. Between that General Convention and the one held in 1907 the number of parishes contributing to the Board had increased from 3936 to 4500 and the amount given had reached nearly \$900,000; but there were still over 2000 parishes totaling more than 150,000 communicants who contributed not one cent. Part of the growth in interest represented by such figures was undoubtedly due to the apportionment plan, and partly to other promotional efforts.

To make sure that no undue amount of its receipts went into overhead, the Board periodically employed disinterested accountants to investigate this question. Their reports showed that the amount thus spent varied between five and eight percent, that it was lower than that so spent by most organizations engaged in comparable activities, and that to reduce it would impair efficiency.

Lloyd was urged by a good many members of the Board to devote most of his time to soliciting gifts from people of wealth. They thought such a course would produce more money than his constant presentation of the cause to people who could contribute but little; they thought he spent altogether too much time in pastoral activity and in considering matters of policy and strategy.

But Lloyd refused to engage in personal solicitation except on rare occasions. One reason was that he thought his pastoral and policy-forming activities were more important. If the Board insisted on his becoming their financial agent he would resign the office of General Secretary; but so long as he continued in that post he insisted on working along what seemed to him the proper lines. Another reason was his conviction that missionary work was the responsibility of the entire Church and that therefore the duty of raising the necessary

funds fell upon its normal leaders, the parochial clergy, and not upon special agents. Until the clergy as a whole felt this responsibility the laity would continue to think of missions as the private interest of a few peculiar people. In addition, Lloyd had three reasons for being far more interested in so educating the whole Church that all its members would contribute a little than in securing very large gifts from the small number of wealthy communicants. It was good pedagogy: if the Church were ever to be really effective, every member had to be persuaded to become an active worker. It was good business: to depend for finances on a small group of wealthy people was short sighted, for they might lose their fortunes or their heirs might not have their interest in the Church. It was good religion: if a few people supported the work they would want to dominate it, and it was better for the Church to worry along on pennies than to give a controlling voice to wealth.

Beside raising money, Lloyd had to make recommendations about its expenditures. This meant endless correspondence with the missionary bishops to find out their desires and needs; many hours in trying to decide the relative importance of different pieces of work; all the detail that inevitably accompanies the making of a budget. He had to go over each figure with the committees concerned, and the whole proposed budget with the entire Board. Of course the Treasurer and other members of the staff did much of the work. But the Treasurer relied upon Lloyd to judge between various requests, confining himself largely to keeping the appropriations from too greatly exceeding the income; and since the other staff members were really Lloyd's assistants, he had to review all their suggestions with minute care.

For promotion Lloyd relied chiefly on education. He was

convinced that ignorance even more than unwillingness lay back of the inadequate support. If people only knew that missions were the *raison d'être* of the Church, if they knew what was actually being done and what the needs were, a sense of Christian obligation and humanitarian sympathy would combine to make them contribute. The chief media of education were addresses and personal contacts. Next in importance was *The Spirit of Missions*, which Wood had made into a first-class organ, and a variety of study classes which he had organized. Neither of them had time to do more. Yet more had to be done. So in 1901 Lloyd persuaded the Board to authorize unsalaried secretaries in seven regions who should act as his assistants in increasing the knowledge and interest in missions; in 1904 he secured the addition to his staff of an educational secretary and the appointment of full-time field agents in six of the missionary departments into which the country was divided for promotional purposes.

Lloyd was deeply interested in two men's movements on behalf of missions. Within the Episcopal Church the Laymen's Forward Movement was launched in Detroit in 1904, of which Lloyd was a chief leader. More important was the interdenominational Layman's Missionary Movement, initiated in 1906 by John B. Sleman. The leaders of this movement were convinced that if the resources of the men of America were mobilized there would be ample money and manpower to secure the proclamation of the Gospel in every part of the world, so that within a very few years all living beings would have a chance of learning about Christ; an idea which they tried to express in their slogan, "The evangelization of the world in this generation." Dinner meetings were held in various cities at which the needs and opportunities of missions were presented and the men present asked to con-

duct every member educational canvasses in their parishes, to secure weekly contributions for missions from people thus interested, to forward to their respective boards the money raised and the names of volunteers secured. Lloyd addressed a large number of these meetings; attended the one held at Carnegie Hall, New York City, at which nearly 4000 men heard a vigorous missionary address by Mr. William H. Taft, the Secretary of War and former Governor-General of the Philippines; and, with Wood, did everything in his power to get the men of the Episcopal Church to take part in the movement.

The matter of a steady stream of volunteers was very urgent. Bishop Graves had written that a mission without a reserve supply of personnel was a waste of money. It meant that every time a worker retired or died the enterprise in which he had been engaged languished until a replacement could be found and taught the language. As this often took one or two years, many promising pieces of work disintegrated completely. Furthermore, expansion depended entirely on new personnel.

To recruit ordained and lay volunteers, Lloyd and Wood depended to a slight extent on articles in the Church press and on appeals issued by interested parish ministers. More came through the Student Volunteer Movement. Increasingly he was driven to think that the answer to the problem lay in the able presentation of the cause in the educational centers, for once men became settled in parishes or medical practice it was difficult for them to detach themselves. So from 1902 onwards he visited an increasing number of them, talking about the opportunities and needs, asking specific individuals to consider volunteering.

On one of these trips a Harvard undergraduate named

Samuel Booth came to him in great inner turmoil over the choice of a vocation. In the course of an hour's conversation Lloyd helped him to face the various issues in his mind, careful not to overpersuade him but trying to enable him to make his own decision instead of simply following family conventions. Years later, when Lloyd was very ill, this man, then Bishop of Vermont, wrote him that that conversation was responsible for his entering the ministry and had given him an understanding of how to face crucial decisions.

By 1905 his schedule included Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Colgate, Kenyon, the University of Virginia, Sewanee, West Point, Annapolis, The Virginia Military Institute, Bryn Mawr, Smith, Mt. Holyoke, Barnard, several preparatory schools, the seminaries of his own and other communions, and summer conferences for young people. His effect on students was indicated by an editorial in the weekly paper edited by the undergraduates of the University of Virginia. "All men who heard Dr. Lloyd . . . can testify to the wonderful charm of his tremendous earnestness, clothed as it is in a style of utmost directness and simplicity. Each night those who had heard him before came back and brought someone else with them. He is a *man* and makes his appeal right to the qualities that every man in college values most highly. . . . It is safe to say that every man in college—Churchman or indifferent to religion altogether—who has heard him touch the heart and stir the noblest impulses of the men before him wishes that he were our chaplain."

Lloyd's concentration on colleges was due partly to his desire to recruit volunteers for the fields, partly to his intense interest in young men and women, partly to his growing conviction that schools and colleges were the most strategic centers for Christian effort. If students remained or became

strong Christians, they would continue so in later years and the Church would have able leadership. If they were permitted to drift away from organized Christianity both they and the Church would suffer. And colleges were the places to win men for the ministry. He felt increasingly that there was a deplorable lack of the right sort of men in the ministry of every Church. Without more and better clergymen the Church at home could not receive adequate teaching and leadership; without better leadership at home it could not secure the money and personnel for work overseas. So he kept blasting at the unfortunately wide-spread impression that the ministry was overcrowded. It could never be overcrowded with the right sort of men; they would make their own jobs. "The Church promises no man a thousand dollars or a house. She promises all who will come abundant opportunity for service on behalf of their fellows."

Throughout these years, Lloyd was on the road over half the time. One of his friends wrote him that, "your headquarters seem to be, not in the saddle, but on a train." His trips took him to every state and diocese in the union. Sometimes he spoke at diocesan conventions, sometimes in large parishes, sometimes in small country missions. The effect upon him of these travels was important. He ceased to be a provincial Virginian. Terre Haute, Minneapolis, and Los Angeles had been for him only names on a map or reminders of what he had read in history books. He had felt more closely identified with Hankow in China or Pelotas in Southern Brazil where friends of his seminary days lived and about which they wrote. His feelings about St. Louis or San Francisco had been more impersonal than about Shanghai or Tokyo. But now he knew people in every part of the country; he knew the distinguishing features and problems

of the various sections. He began to feel at home anywhere in the United States, to think in continental terms, to lose illusions as to the unique importance of the Atlantic seaboard. As he said, "I have at last discovered the West." He ceased to be a provincial Virginia Churchman and began to feel at home with people of other views and ceremonial practices. When he first went to New York he told his secretary that he had never worn anything but a black stole, that he wanted to wear what was customary in the parishes he visited, and that he would have to depend upon her to tell him what to use. After he had traveled broadly her advice was unnecessary. He became known to more Episcopalians than any other man in the Church, and his views became widely discussed. Wherever he went his message was essentially the same. "If you call yourself a Christian and a member of the Body of Christ, that means you have undertaken to make Christ and His revelation known, trusted, and obeyed everywhere."

With each passing year Lloyd felt more strongly the need for integrating all the administrative machinery of the Church. The Church had but one mission, one task on which it had been sent. To talk of *missions* as though there were various tasks between which people might choose, as students choose between various elective courses, was to fall into the devil's trap. Evangelization and philanthropy and education, work at home and overseas, were but different parts of the *one* task of making Christ known everywhere by word and deed. Consequently, the entire work ought to be subject to a board of strategy which could work out long range plans and decide where the available resources would be of most use each year, with a unified budget and authoritative leadership. Only this type of organization would sym-

bolize the unity of the Church's mission; no other type could secure efficiency. He made two efforts toward it which are worth noting.

The American Church Missionary Society had been formed originally to support the work in Cuba and Brazil because the High Church wing, feeling it wrong for the Episcopal Church to work in countries where the Roman Church was active, had prevented the Board of Missions from sponsoring it. A good deal of the partisan feeling had evaporated. Many parish clergymen complained of the confusion and unnecessary expense caused by having two separate missionary organizations. Lloyd felt strongly the inefficiency of such duplication; he regretted not being connected with the work in Brazil which was staffed entirely by friends of his seminary days. When the secretary of the A.C.M.S. resigned in the autumn of 1903, he immediately began to explore the possibilities of a merger. Negotiating committees were appointed by both organizations; legal questions were investigated; a plan elaborated by which the two might be united; the proposal ratified by General Convention in October, 1904. On January 1, 1905, the work of the A.C.M.S. was added to Lloyd's responsibilities.

In 1907 Lloyd submitted a series of suggestions to the Board which he was directed to send to every bishop for comment. He emphasized the need for a board of strategy to direct the whole work of the Church and for a unified budget. Then he discussed what changes in current procedure such things would make necessary. Bishops must give up all begging for particular projects in their districts; the plea must always be for the whole cause. The Board would have to raise considerably more money, for it would have to assume responsibility not only for current expenses but also

for all the new ventures which heretofore had been made possible by special appeals. If it were to raise extra money, General Convention would have to be given what amounted to powers of taxation. All bishops receiving aid from the Board would have to submit very detailed accounts of how they used their appropriations and these reports would have to be open to public inspection, for only so would people have sufficient confidence to support the whole work of the Board.

To Bishop Doane, his chief confidant in such matters, Lloyd suggested one further fundamental change. The man who was the nearest thing to the Church's chief officer, the Presiding Bishop, ought to be the active head of its missionary work in order to symbolize the fact that mission work was the reason for the Church's existence. Furthermore, he ought to be given authority to compel far more vigorous and systematic educational and financial activities in every diocese and parish. But if the Presiding Bishop were to have such duties and authority, he ought to be a man chosen for his abilities along such lines rather than one who owed his position to seniority.

Doane had suggested a similar idea in a letter to *The Churchman* in 1901, but in the meanwhile had either forgotten it or changed his mind. In his reply to Lloyd he agreed with reservations to the earlier suggestions and then wrote, "The last proposal makes what little hair I have stand on end. The election of a Presiding Bishop has been, and I suppose always will be, resented and resisted in our house by the various 'irae' in the 'coelestibus animis,' and in the deputies by the horrible monster of an archbishop."

Though nothing came of the proposals at the time, Lloyd drew in them the first sketch of the National Council which was organized twelve years later.

Lloyd revealed his feeling about a post which demanded so much time for administrative detail in a letter to his classmate and friend, the Reverend Thomas J. Packard. "While I left what I believe to be the most unique parish in the South to undertake this work I have never for a moment regretted the change, even though from time to time I have been pretty well broken up by homesickness. This, however, I take to be only a confession that one is bound by mortal limitations and if one were not homesick for the kind of conditions I left I would think there was something wrong with him.

The work that I have to do has been uniformly pleasant and interesting to a degree that I only guessed at before, and as I look forward to another year it is only with satisfaction at the thought that it will bring me more nearly in contact with the work which gives reason for the Church's being.

"There is of course the other side. The chief deprivation is in the fact that the pastoral office is practically lost, and I have had to find a new definition for my ordination, inasmuch as I have never thought of myself in any other relation than that of a parish priest. All the work that I have to do might easily be done (and sometimes I think it would be better done) by a layman. Added to this is the loss that I think might be called sentimental and yet which is very real — I have no life at home any longer, but only go there to sleep as opportunity offers."

4.

In addition to studying questions of policy and performing his various administrative duties, Lloyd carried on a growing pastoral activity. On his travels he never over-

looked individuals. He spent a week-end in a house where there was a large family. On the last day of his visit he entered in his engagement book the name, age, and birthday of each child, and a note to send a card to each one of them when the birthday came around. An eleven-year-old immigrant met him at a service in St. Louis and corresponded with him for several years. His letters are full of the chickens and vegetables his mother was raising, of games and school; Lloyd's letters humorously tell of his adventures around the country, of what opportunities lie before an American who grows strong in mind and body, of what it means to have Christ as Master.

When Lloyd was at home official duties never interfered with personal service to people, many of whom had no claim on him at all. A lady who heard him preach in East Orange wrote asking him to help her sister, a widow with three children, who had just taken a position at Wanamaker's store. Lloyd went to see her shortly, and during the next year and a half helped her get adjusted both to her widowhood and her unaccustomed employment. She wrote him: "In all sincerity I will say that during the past year and a half, which has been a time of much trial and anxiety to us, you have brought me more consolation than I could have believed possible; and stimulated and encouraged me when I felt as if nothing could give me any light or comfort."

A girl came to see him about her career. After investigation he advised her to become a nurse, got her into the Nurses' Training School of St. Luke's Hospital and kept in close touch with her by notes and occasional meetings. Just before her graduation she wrote him: "My success is directly due to you. For the fear of appearing to you to fail gave me strength

for every exertion when perhaps I should not have been able to go on if that motive had been lacking. I always dreaded more than anything else to appear unfavorably to you after you had done so much and had had so much confidence in me."

An art teacher in Boston had met Lloyd at some church gathering. Shortly afterwards his wife deserted him, he lost his job and his money. Moved by some impulse he wrote the man who had seemed so friendly and understanding. Eight letters of Lloyd's to him during the next four months brought him consolation and encouragement and, at times, reproof. Lloyd interrupted one of his journeys to make a side trip to the man's wife to see if a reconciliation were possible. He told the man it was out of the question for the time being and promised to help him in his efforts to keep straight. The man wrote back to him as, "the only friend I have left," "the only man I can write to absolutely freely," "the only man who I know will not only sympathize but be perfectly honest with me."

At a luncheon he was introduced to a Jewish theatre manager who was in New York for several months. Lloyd asked the man to come to see him; an invitation that was accepted with alacrity and frequently. After he left, the man wrote thanking Lloyd for taking the time to give him spiritual help and guidance.

Letters came to Lloyd from missionaries and friends asking him to meet relatives when their trains arrived in New York; to keep an eye on their sons who had gone to the city for business reasons; to help a girl who had become a drug addict; to find jobs for young women; to investigate a young man who had proposed to the correspondent's daughter; to help a married woman whose mother was breaking up her home by

alienating her husband and children; to look up two boys who had gone to New York for work and from whom their mother, an old Norfolk parishioner, had not heard for a month; to help an old lady who was abused by her son-in-law to secure employment so that she would be able to live somewhere else. Letters that arrived from Farmville, which he had left fifteen years earlier, show how he kept up with his old parishioners and did unsolicited favors for friends.

From Norfolk came a steady stream of requests that he officiate at baptisms, weddings, and burials, most of which he declined in order that the new rector might have these contacts with the parishioners. He refused a request sent him in 1903 by the vestry of St. Luke's for detailed recommendations about the plans for a parish house they contemplated building, on the ground that the rector should be the one to make such suggestions. The only thing he would do was to tell the latter what he thought. The rector greatly appreciated this attitude and the way in which Lloyd, whenever he went to Norfolk, tried to attach people to him. "Every visit you pay leaves me stronger, even with your most intimate friends. And so the debt is mine, and I say, come oftener, the oftener the better."

Not only lay folk but clergy drew on him. Bishop Doane wrote him, "How can I thank you for all your kindness to me. . . . I have had many blessings all through my life but none of them are greater than the loving kindness of such friends as you are." Theological students who had met him on his visits to seminaries wrote him for guidance as to their future work and for light when they were perplexed. One of them, in a letter full of gratitude for Lloyd's help in a moral and spiritual crisis, said by way of apologizing for having trespassed on his time, "Something in your atmosphere attracted

me more than anything I have ever come in contact with." Clergy in financial straits wrote him from all over the country for loans; others for counsel about their spiritual perplexity and pastoral problems. He helped as much as he could.

His help was not always consolation. He could be stern as well as sympathetic. He was visited by a man who was in difficulties with his parishioners and asked advice. Lloyd told him, "I should resign my parish at once if I were in your place and go to a little mission if necessary. There are plenty of them where you can work in peace."

The clergyman replied, "But think how hard it would be for my wife. How could she care for all these children on a mere pittance?"

Lloyd looked them both over keenly and answered, "She's good for it. It won't hurt her to work hard for her own people, or you either."

With trepidation the man took the advice. Over a year later his wife wrote Lloyd, "If you could only know what a household word you have been ever since in this family. When we are desperately tired sometimes after a hard day's work, we say, 'Dr. Lloyd was a true prophet. He has helped us keep our self-respect'."

Naturally the people who felt his influence most were the staff at "281." One of them wrote the author thus: "It is supremely good to have had some association with '281' in the early days. It was a demonstration of how the man at the top creates the atmosphere for the rest. The staff was his 'family'; he got each one to work for a common enterprise without thought of hours or pay by telling us, 'No house can be called Christian except where the atmosphere is such as the Blessed One would find congenial.' He imparted to each of us a sense of responsibility for making it so. We went off for our

week-ends as we would have gone from a particularly happy home. There were no 'blue Mondays,' rather 'blue Saturdays' at leaving.

"Everyone loved him. The day was made different by contact with him. He cared so much for each one individually from the wash-woman to the secretaries and the Treasurer; he was so quick to commend and encourage; so full of understanding, sympathy, solicitude; so quick to poke fun at solemnity and 'chestiness.' Everyone had access to him; it was first come, first served. A knock at the door and in went anyone who wanted him — office-boy or bishop, charwoman or diocesan president of the Auxiliary, beggar or banker.

"The only prerogative we ever knew him to claim — usually his prerogative was to have none — was to take prayers in the chapel. That he felt was his of right. The farewell services for missionaries were times of special closeness between those going and those staying at this end, and his personal prayers for them I know sent them on their way with a feeling of sure confidence, with cheerful courage and good hope. He told the rest of us that '281' was the place to which missionaries on furlough should come with glad and hurrying feet. 'Remember that nothing is too much trouble. Make them understand that this place is theirs, that everything and everybody here is at their service. They are our very reason for being. And let not one of them speak to any of you without being glad to have come into contact with such a one. Remember that you are in a very real sense, just because you are permitted to share the work here, His representatives.' And I remember one day when I had fallen far behind in what I thought I ought to have done, I said to him with a sigh, 'I think I could get my work done if it wasn't for these constant interruptions.' He gave me his quiz-

zical smile and said, 'Don't you know that your interruptions *are* your work? Everyone who comes to you is a messenger from the Lord'."

To his great pleasure, Lloyd received some letters in a different vein. His "son in the Church" as he used to call the Reverend Cary Gamble, told him that he wanted to help him spiritually in his exacting work and that in their household he was prayed for daily. From Alaska, Deaconess Carter wrote, "Remember that to feel at our far-away posts we have you to turn to when the clouds grow dark, will mean more than you can know. *Please* take advantage of your resting times, the advantage that you owe yourself and yours and all of us who look to you. Know that daily prayers are going up from earnest hearts for your preservation, and the ever increasing power and peace of God's Holy Spirit."

Chapter V

AROUND THE WORLD

I.

IN JANUARY, 1906, the Board asked Lloyd to make an extended visit to the mission fields in the Orient. They felt the need of an advisor who knew at first hand the problems and the relative importance of the projects for which money was asked. Missionary bishops had been requesting for several years that the General Secretary be sent out to go over their work and to take counsel with them. Though Lloyd had not been told in advance that he would be asked to take the trip, he agreed to go with alacrity. He, too, wanted more immediate knowledge.

To the Lloyd's great pleasure, Dr. and Mrs. Reese Alsop went with them. They were very congenial companions; he had been a member of the Board for many years and Lloyd respected his judgment. Also, Lloyd knew that on his trips to the interior of China and the Philippines his wife would have to stay on the coast, and it was a relief to him to know that at such periods Mrs. Alsop would be with her. With blithe hearts they sailed on the S.S. *Carmania* on August 28th, fortified against seasickness by a home-made remedy sent Mrs. Lloyd by some of her friends.

Except for a short time spent each summer with his family at Blue Ridge Summit or Sweet Chalybeate Springs, West Virginia, Lloyd had had no vacation since his journey to Europe four years earlier. Mrs. Lloyd had never been abroad.

So most of the first five months of their trip was a period of resting and sightseeing. Landing at Liverpool, they spent a day in Chester and then went on to London. Lloyd was chiefly interested in things connected with the Church; his wife, with art. So they visited St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, the National Gallery and the Tate Galleries, the British Museum and the Wallace Collection, with brief trips to Oxford, the Shakespeare country, and Canterbury.

But it was not all sight-seeing. Lloyd spent three days at the headquarters of two great Anglican missionary societies, the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, studying their methods of administering and financing their work and conferring with the leaders about their general policies. Officials of both societies gave him letters to all their representatives in Egypt and the Orient that he might study at first hand the activities in the fields. Another day was spent at the Wesleyan Missionary Society, one of the great Nonconformist agencies, investigating how they carried on their work and how missions of different communions might coöperate better. On the way to Paris he called on the Archbishop of Canterbury, under whose supervision all Anglican Missions operated.

Another fortnight was spent in Paris and its environs. The Louvre, Versailles, Fontainebleau, fascinated Mrs. Lloyd. He revelled over the old abbey of St. Dennis, the Invalides with its memories of Napoleon, Cluny with its memories of the great reform movement of the Middle Ages. Both were enchanted in Notre Dame and St. Sulpice. Lloyd preached in the English and American churches.

From Paris they journeyed to Milan, Venice, and Florence. Lloyd's notebook reveals that what he enjoyed most was visit-

ing the glass works in Venice and investigating as many places as possible which had any connection with Savonarola; while his wife was chiefly delighted by the Uffizi galleries. In later years he said that he had found in Florence the beauty that all his life he had unconsciously been seeking.

Then they spent a week in Rome. They went to St. Peter's and the Vatican, the Forum and the Coliseum. The catacombs, the oldest churches, and the Vatican Library had the most fascination for them. In his memory Lloyd reconstructed the arrival of St. Paul as a prisoner, his two years in his own hired house, his trial and execution; and also Pope Gregory sending St. Augustine to England. Again he preached in the American church.

After Rome they stopped for a day each at Capri, Naples, Pompeii, sailed from Brindisi to Port Said, and then began a fascinating fortnight in Egypt. They prowled around the old city of Cairo with its bazaars and mosques; they visited the leaders of the C.M.S. mission there and were favorably impressed by the work, especially by the schools and hospital. After seeing the Pyramids, they went up the Nile by steamboat to Luxor and Karnak, where the relics of the ancient civilization made Lloyd muse again on how young Christianity is in comparison with the age of the race. At Assuan, while Mrs. Lloyd spent her time at the bazaars and mosques of the old city, he inspected the C.M.S. mission, preached, and conferred with the leaders about work among Mohammedans. When they returned to Cairo Lloyd spent some time with the authorities of the Coptic Church.

Lloyd summed up his impression of the prospects of Christianity in Egypt in this paragraph in an article written for *The Spirit of Missions*:

"The time in Egypt is one of change and unrest. Here, as

everywhere else, the old things are passing. The study of natural science is undermining the old point of view, and everywhere men are questioning. At the same time religious bigotry seems to be rampant, so that those who have been baptized are in danger of violence even in broad daylight at the hands of their former co-religionists. One man who became a Christian under exceptional circumstances had to leave the country to avoid danger to his life. And yet more have been baptized than in six years previously, and the children are sent to the schools with the distinct understanding that they are to be taught by Christians and from a Christian standpoint. So you see that though the superstition prevails here as elsewhere that Moslems never change their faith, here, as elsewhere, for Moslems as for everyone else, it is merely a question of making the Revelation clear. But the work is slow."

A lazy week on the steamer between Port Said and Bombay afforded a chance to sleep, to digest some of the experiences they had had, and to read about the places they were going to. For a month they journeyed around India, seeing sights, studying the evangelistic, educational, and medical work of various missions, and conferring with responsible leaders of different communions and of the Y.M.C.A., both English and Indian. In each place they visited and on the trains between them, Lloyd talked to as many Indians as possible — high-caste and low, educated and ignorant, Christian, Mohammedan, and Hindu. He had long sessions with student groups in various centers. As a result of all he saw and heard, several ideas took clearer shape in his mind and were recorded in his letters home and in an article he sent to *The Spirit of Missions*.

The integrity of the English administrators and the bene-

ficent results of their rule impressed him greatly. But unintended accompaniments of that rule seemed to him among the chief obstacles Christian missionaries had to overcome. The nationalism which rejected the religion of the English just because it was the religion of an alien ruler struck him forcibly. The exploitation of the population by unscrupulous Indians and Englishmen gave an air of justification to the claim made by the enemies of Christianity that the benefits brought by missionaries served only to blind the unsuspecting natives to the rapacity of the ruling group.

The great change wrought in the converts was one of the strongest of his impressions. He saw such depths of wretchedness as words could not express and was nearly nauseated at the cult of Kali and other deities. Then he visited Christian villages and saw the difference in attitudes and characters. He talked with young non-Christian students, ("Never have I been more appealed to by young men") discerned the inner torture of moral struggles, racial pride, frustration, and felt the contrast between them and some Christian students in whom moral transformations had been wrought, racial pride overcome by a spirit of universal love, the sense of frustration removed in their efforts to serve Christ. The witness of Christian lives in un-Christian surroundings was the strongest apologetic for Christianity.

Another conviction was that pagan religions and systems of thought formed a relatively minor obstacle to Christianity. The loss of social prestige and the disabilities brought upon the families of converts seemed to him a much graver deterrent for educated Mohammedans and Hindus; and with such people he had great sympathy. "How many of us would have the courage to face what they have to meet?" The lack of teachers seemed the main thing holding back the conversion

of the illiterate and down-trodden masses. Nor did Indian philosophies seem to him a serious handicap; and that because he felt that Christianity, being primarily a revelation of the way of life, would inevitably appeal to all men by its own inherent rightness and its contribution to human existence. He had little, if any, understanding of the irreconcilable differences between the Indian and the Christian outlook on human existence, and the consequent difficulty of grafting a Christian ethic on a Hindu foundation. "It seems plain that once they find that Christianity has no mission to combat their philosophies, but to show them the truth about human life and to raise them out of their wretchedness (and even so superficial a view as I had shows this in its pitifulness), there will be no trouble about their receiving it—the more as every change in their method of doing things, whether commercial or social, is digging away the foundations on which their objections to Christianity rest." But these obstacles could not be overcome until the Christian forces in India were united.

After leaving India they spent two days in Ceylon with the Anglican bishop. Then an eighteen-day voyage broken by stops at Penang, Singapore, and Hong Kong brought them in mid-January, 1907, to Manila and the first of the mission fields for which Lloyd had responsibility.

2.

The Lloyds spent six weeks in the Philippines, during which he went to all the work in the northern island but was unable to go to Zamboanga in the far south.

The first two weeks they stayed in Manila. Bishop Brent had conceived that his first responsibility was to the Americans and English who were there as administrators, business

men or teachers in the school system that was slowly being developed. These he reached through the Cathedral and through a club for young men. He had no intention of trying to proselytize among the Roman Catholics. But there were many Filipinos who either had never been attached to that Church or had left it. To them he had a duty. Many of them were terribly poor and without any chance of medical attention. To minister to them he had founded a dispensary and chapel in which services were conducted in their own language. In addition there was a numerous colony of Chinese, and for these he had opened another mission. Lloyd visited every bit of work, taking careful notes on what was being done, on the caliber of the staff and the conditions of the property, on what was necessary in the way of increased personnel and improved material if the opportunities already embraced were to be adequately met, as well as what was needed if new openings were to be entered upon. What he saw impressed him very favorably. But two things depressed him: the waste involved in paying high rents year after year for the needed buildings and the lack of reserve personnel.

While Lloyd was in Manila the annual convocation of the district was held, which he attended, thus having a chance to meet workers from other sections of the islands, to see the way in which they faced the total task of the Church, to understand Bishop Brent's leadership. On the Sunday that occurred while Convocation was in session, the Cathedral was dedicated in a great service which struck Lloyd as the most significant one he had ever attended. To it came people of five different races, the Governor-General and his staff as well as poverty-stricken Chinese coolies, and the congregations of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches which had suspended their own services that morning. The building and

the religious leadership symbolized the contribution which the Episcopal Church was trying to make to the new American possession; the mixture of races and classes spoke of the universality of the Christ "in whom there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free"; the presence of the Presbyterians and Methodists was an earnest of that union of the forces of Christianity which he was beginning to feel so important.

What interested Lloyd most was the amazing opportunity given to the United States to help another people become a self-governing, prosperous nation. Bishop Brent, Colonel Rivers, and General Wood helped him to see their own generous vision which he embraced enthusiastically. He wrote urging friends to use their influence that the Islands should not be treated as a pawn in home politics, that their economy should be favored rather than subordinated to the interests of American business, and that they should be sent the ablest and most disinterested men as administrators until they achieved independence.

Few things that the administration was undertaking seemed to Lloyd as useful as the public schools for the Filipinos. Most of the teachers were natives but some Americans had been brought over to supervise them and raise the teaching standard. Most of these American teachers were young bachelors, generally living quite alone in small communities throughout the islands, cut off from the influences that had restrained and strengthened them at home. To provide adequately for their needs seemed to Lloyd the most strategic service the Church could render to the Islands, for through ministering to them it would contribute to the character and outlook of the future generations even more directly than through its own schools. The Church's schools were indispensable, for in them a few Filipino children were not only

educated more thoroughly than the public system as yet made possible, but were also deeply converted and nurtured in the Christian life. But these schools touched only a minute part of the population. By stabilizing in Christian faith and character the teachers of the teachers, the Church could exert a general, though not intense, influence on the whole mass of the student population.

When convocation ended, Lloyd and Dr. Alsop left Manila and went north with Bishop Brent, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Drury, and Father Staunton. After one day spent at Drury's mission at Baguio, Lloyd, Brent, and Staunton, attended by some constabulary, set out on a two weeks' horse-back trip through Igorot country, the memory of which remained with him permanently. It was years since he had ridden, and the horse lent him by the constabulary was far from easy-gaited. Hard ground never felt so comfortable as it did on the first few nights of that journey. The trail led through mountains of superb grandeur and beauty; Lloyd confessed humorously that they even surpassed the Blue Ridge. Nights spent camping out made the party feel vividly the glory and power of the Creator of the stars, the mountains, and the ocean. They saw the industry of the natives in terracing the hillsides and growing rice in most inaccessible spots; they witnessed their skill with rude tools; they were received everywhere with the simple courtesy that marks a gentleman be he never so uncouth.

On this trip they visited two principal missions, Sagada and Bontoc, and their surrounding out-stations. At Sagada Lloyd was astonished at the results Mr. Staunton had accomplished with wretchedly inadequate equipment. The church was "simple and altogether satisfactory." Both the spiritual training and the education in agriculture and carpentering

seemed to be well and enthusiastically looked after. The staff of one Spanish and one American helper seemed competent. But the mission house was a distinct shock. It was a building thirty-nine feet by twenty-five, and one story high, divided into nine compartments, in one of which Mr. and Mrs. Staunton had lived ever since they went to Sagada. The other eight compartments were given up to the use of the mission. One of them served as dining-room and general living-room. In others the boys lived, visitors stayed, classes were taught. Everybody went where they wanted to, for the Igorots knew nothing of privacy. When Lloyd saw how Mrs. Staunton had been subjected for an indefinite time to every kind of inconvenience, he vowed to make the Church realize of what sort of stuff its representatives were made. He joined Bishop Brent in urging Mr. Staunton to build a house for himself and his wife at once and undertook to raise the \$2,500 needed.

From Sagada they rode across two glorious ranges to the native town of Bontoc, outside which was an important mission station. Here the impressions were much the same: a competent and devoted staff; wisely conceived plans; training well adapted to the population; wretched equipment. Above all else he was struck by "what a benediction Miss Oakes and her dispensary have been to the place and the people. She carries on her work in a wretched little shed of a place that doesn't even try to keep dry when it rains; but it is clean, and Miss Oakes is there, and she is an interpreter that even the most simple have comprehended.

"We left Bontoc early Thursday morning and by forced marches reached Candon early on Saturday, coming down from there to Dagupan by a 'caleza' (which broke down), a 'corromota' and a 'guibez'—each a more impossible form of

cart than the other, and so back to Manila Tuesday, February 20th."

For three days Lloyd remained in Manila, planning with Bishop Brent about the needs and the future policy of the district, conferring with General Wood about the function of the Church in the Islands, speaking at a dinner of the American Club, and meeting with groups of young men. On the 23rd he and Dr. Alsop took ship to Hong Kong where they rejoined their wives and spent a day at a flower show. The voyage to Shanghai was cold and rough and the ship poor, so it was with no ordinary pleasure that they reached that city on March 2nd.

3.

Lloyd and Alsop spent seven-and-a-half weeks going over the Episcopal missions in the Yangtze district, and managed also to see a good many undertakings of other communions. Many nights they spent in house-boats, often waking up stiff and sore from sleeping on bare boards; others they stayed in the houses of Chinese clergymen and laity; the rest, with missionaries. Everywhere they were received hospitably; in some places, with great formality as the official ambassadors of the mother Church. In Hankow the welcome was emphasized by the explosion of 70,000 fire-crackers. And everywhere they went they were amazed at the crowds. It seemed to them as though Chinese people never moved around the streets singly or in small groups but always in hundreds. But equally they were surprised at the universal good temper of the crowds, never quarrelsome or jostling but "always apparently disposed to play fair and yield the right of way to a man needing

it. As I wandered through their streets I was persuaded that if an American town had to run on the same basis as Chinese ones, the majority of throats would be quickly cut."

They visited innumerable congregations — in big city churches like St. Paul's at Hankow and in little rooms where newly-formed congregations were beginning their corporate life. They went to educational institutions of every sort—the kindergartens and primary schools attached to practically every chapel, middle schools, Boone College and St. John's University where training was available in medicine, law, and divinity as well as arts. Lloyd enjoyed long discussions with students as much as anything in China. They saw the work being done in terribly cramped and ill-equipped dispensaries and in the new St. James Hospital in Anking. They saw the property at Fanchang that had just been bought with contributions received from the Swedish congregations in America to whom Mr. Hamarskold ministered. This symbolized to Lloyd a great conviction: that churches who receive aid (as did the Swedes) ought, out of gratitude, to contribute as they could to people in still greater need, that from the original givers to the newest station people might know themselves bound in a fellowship in which everyone was responsible for the rest. They conferred with the bishops and with practically every missionary and Chinese priest; they went over the books of both districts carefully; they inspected the properties and made extensive notes about them; they went to the annual Convocation of the Shanghai district and a special one in Hankow. They attended a meeting by all the Anglican bishops in China and various clerical delegates called to consider the problems of Church unity.

It is doubtful if it would have been humanly possible for people to see more of the work, or to see it from as many

perspectives, in seven weeks as Lloyd and Alsop did. And Lloyd confessed that the results of the missionaries' activities exceeded what he had expected to find.

Lloyd's visit to the China stations left several strong impressions on his mind. The chief argument for missions was that the degradation wrought by the impact of the West on the Chinese had to be offset by Christianity. That there was plenty of native immorality and tyranny he knew well; but it seemed to him as if Western civilization had taught the Chinese depths of degradation and methods of exploitation that were not natural to them. The Gospel struck him as the one redeeming feature of Western civilization; and since Western civilization was already in China, Western Christians were under necessity to proclaim the Gospel, and, in the name of Christ, to succor those whom Westerners had harmed.

Lloyd's conception of the right strategy was clarified. He felt sure that if the Church in America would provide a proper plant at some central point in each province, the Chinese would themselves be able to take care of the work as it radiated from these. And the wisdom of the policies by which the work had been guided strengthened an already latent idea that the bishops in the field ought to be given a free hand to use appropriations as they thought best, without being handicapped by orders formulated by a Board in New York that could not possibly know the conditions so well or realize when changes were needed.

The great need, as he saw it, was to supply leadership for a time and such equipment as might serve as a model for the Chinese when they began to supply their own equipment. A hundred thoroughly tried men and women in addition to the existing force and a million dollars for equipment was

his estimate of the need. If these could be supplied in the near future, the Church in China would progress amazingly and exert a deeply Christian influence on the nation in a most critical period. It would become so firmly rooted that the need for subsidies would end much more quickly than if it had to struggle along indefinitely with insufficient aid. But he knew no one would heed. Were he to press for such an amount of money, people in America would immediately lose all confidence in him. And this depressed him. "I could weep when I think of the damage all its money is doing to the Church at home—for what does more harm than a misused trust—and the amazing blessing it might provide there and here if it were invested in the King's business." But he did urge clergymen to volunteer for China, on the ground that they were much more needed there than in America and could make a more strategic contribution. And to women doctors and nurses he wrote that their opportunity for service in China was unlimited and the desire for their work universal.

The last strong impression Lloyd carried away with him was that rapid though the growth of the Christian community was, the influence of Christian ideals extended far beyond that community. This he thought to be due largely to the silent witness of the medical work and of the character-training given by schools and colleges. For many years he treasured in his memory a sight at Wuhu. All through Holy Week it had rained. Easter morning was cloudless and the air smelled fresh. As he stepped onto the porch very early Easter morning he saw the light of the rising sun caught by the spire of the newly-completed St. James Church and from there reflected across the city—a symbol of the mission insti-

tutions reflecting the love and the power of God to those who knew not the Revelation of Good Friday and Easter.

4.

Late on the 23rd of April the Lloyds and the Alsops sailed from Shanghai to Osaka, remaining in Japan till June 12th.

Lloyd's Japanese itinerary was as strenuous as that in China. Almost all his time was taken up with inspecting various types of work in innumerable places, taking note of the schools and hospitals as well as churches, going over the books to see how the money was husbanded, inspecting the properties. He went to self-supporting parishes with fine buildings and to very new Christian groups meeting in a room in a poor house in the most squalid part of the city; he went to kindergartens, primary schools, colleges, and a theological seminary. He attended the convocations of both the Kyoto and Tokyo jurisdictions and also the annual meetings of the Woman's Auxiliary in both districts. He visited work of other communions and conferred with their leaders. Very little time was available for sight-seeing. Mrs. Lloyd was with him part of the time, spending the balance resting at a pleasant place in the country.

The sessions of the diocesan councils and of the auxiliaries seemed to him to give the clearest proof that Christianity was taking root in Japan. The level of spiritual maturity, moral sincerity, and intellectual power was quite as high as in similar American gatherings. They demonstrated that the Japanese Church would soon be able to furnish all its own leadership. The agenda at the councils included not only ordinary routine diocesan matters but also special points on

which it was desired to convey their mature thought to the Board in America and questions on which they wanted rulings by the Board. Lloyd of course could not commit the Board on these questions, but he noted them carefully and promised to present them when he returned to America. He was most interested by the discussions of the need of more missionaries, for this resulted in a detailed memorandum setting forth why, and for what posts, they were wanted. Evidently the Japanese leaders were careful planners. The consideration of educational institutions was impressive. He knew the difficulties of the young men, who, having been converted at St. Paul's School, were forced to go to the State universities where there was no adequate provision for their religious training and growth. Not a few of the most recent converts relapsed. Should St. Paul's be expanded to a university, or was there some way of providing the needed instruction and fellowship in the state institutions?

Throughout the history of Christianity its leaders had been faced with the problem of higher Christian education. The Japanese were evidently alert to the really pressing problems. At the meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary he saw what to him was indisputable evidence that they had been gripped by the spirit of Christ. Every member was making a contribution for missions that they might do their part to spread the Gospel to people who knew it not, and they were helping to support an orphanage that they might obey the injunction, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me."

At every station Lloyd and Alsop met expressions of appreciation for the help that had come from America through the missionaries and gratification that the mother Church had sent its officers out to learn the actual conditions of the work.

And in every city and town he was struck by the difference in the expressions on the faces of Christians and non-Christians. Genuine trust in the Father so altered life that it showed in peoples' faces. What stronger proof could be asked either of the desirability of missions or of the adequacy of the work that was done?

Lloyd was amazed at the pervasive influence of Bishop Channing Moore Williams. At the age of seventy the latter had resigned his episcopate and given himself up wholly to the work of an evangelist in the country districts. But though very few people saw him now-a-days the whole Christian community looked up to him as the incarnation of the Christian spirit and the embodiment of wisdom. Lloyd had looked forward to meeting him in Kyoto at the consecration of a church and parish house he had begun before leaving office, a fine, well-appointed plant. The Bishop had come to see the fulfilment of his dream. But his self-effacing modesty made him disappear on the morning of the service, leaving a note in which he asked Bishop McKim to see to it that no reference was made to him during the day.

In contrast with the spirit of the Japanese Christians and the devoted labors of the missionaries, Lloyd thought the equipment provided by the Board was very poor; "mortifying" was his own word for it. It seemed to show that Americans thought poorly of the Gospel. His final summary of what he had seen in Japan was this. "The strength of the Church in Japan, in spite of such efficient means for keeping the people from receiving what our Master bade us bring to them, is but added proof that He is with His workers, and will see that they prosper in spite of (if need be) the Church at home."

5.

Lloyd had accepted an invitation to return to Shanghai for the "Morrison Centennial Conference," a great gathering of representatives of all communions working in China to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the landing of the first Protestant missionary, to take note of developments, to counsel about present problems and future policies, to discover what further steps could be taken toward Church unity. But he was forced to cancel this engagement in order to be back in America in time to prepare for General Convention. The travel schedule permitted but one day in Honolulu with Bishop Restarick. Landing in San Francisco, Lloyd spent a week making addresses in the leading churches of the city and its environs and calling on a few of the most influential clergy and laity, trying to impart some of the new vision and enthusiasm he had been given for the work in the Orient. Similar engagements took him to Portland and Seattle. From there they went by train, via the Canadian Rockies, to New York, reaching home ten months and seventeen days from the date of their departure.

The chief effect of the trip on Lloyd was to change *belief to knowledge*.

Lloyd always had believed, on the basis of the testimony of missionaries and of his own general faith, that the impact of Christ on Orientals would produce the same far-reaching transformations in human character and attitudes that it did in Westerners; now he knew it, for he had seen such changes with his own eyes. He had always believed that missions brought vast benefits culturally and materially to non-Christian peoples: now he knew, for he had seen the results of medical and educational work in India, the Philippines,

China, and Japan. Having such first-hand knowledge, he was the more enthusiastic and persuasive an advocate of the missionary enterprise.

But the trip brought a new factor into Lloyd's thought about missions. He was convinced now that the influence of Western culture on the Orient would be thoroughly bad—though not quite *unrelievedly* bad because its medicine and scientific agriculture were boons—unless the one redemptive factor in the West also became influential. The one redemptive factor was the Christian revelation. He had seen the red light district of Shanghai and he had suffered one of the greatest shocks of his life when he learned that to many Chinese the term "American Girl" was a synonym for prostitute. He had been told of new forms of graft and political chicanery learned by Indians from their contact with Westerners, and had seen some of its results. He had encountered the corrosive influence of Western materialism and scientific agnosticism on the religious aspirations and traditional ethics of all Oriental lands, and noted that no substitute was offered by Western culture alone that could save the spirit of man. In Japan he reflected: "Would that we might give all that we have that is beautiful and true, so promptly and in such abundant measure that they might be saved from marring their own civilization by ignorantly absorbing the poison in ours." Apparently he saw very little of the terrible conditions in the Shanghai mills, some controlled by Western and some by Chinese capitalists, that were one of the most horrible results of Western commercial influence, for he makes no mention of them in his article in *The Spirit of Missions*, and in letters indicates only that he had heard of the awful misery inflicted on the laborers. If he had seen it first-hand his feelings would have been more intense that the West would

destroy the East unless the East were brought under the redemptive power of Christ.

Another result of the trip was to increase Lloyd's pastoral ministry. In the course of his visit to the Orient he had seen at close range many of the missionaries in those districts. His genuine concern for them, and his ability to help them meet their problems more hopefully and successfully, had made some of them look to him as to one to whom they could bring any difficulties, "Knowing that we will be listened to by a heart as well as a head and that we can say whatever is on our mind by letter or face to face; that we have a friend and pastor as well as an executive and superior officer." They might not get specific counsel or philosophic guidance, but their own attitudes were changed. Consequently, some of them wrote him at length and fairly often; and others home on furlough went to see him. His office became a sanctuary where problems were aired and the winds of the Spirit blew upon human souls. Not seldom one came to the office to report, remained to discuss personal affairs, and finally went for several days to East Orange, there to be refreshed by friendliness that never trespassed on the inner privacies, yet ministered to them.

It is worth noting that Lloyd paid out of his own pocket the traveling expenses of both himself and his wife. Mr. Thomas had given him a check for \$1,000 before he sailed in order that Mrs. Lloyd might be more comfortable. Lloyd accepted it gratefully, but when he arrived back in New York he returned it uncashed.

Chapter VI

THE EPISCOPATE AND THE HOME

FIVE TIMES between the fall of 1901 and the summer of 1909 Lloyd was elected to the episcopate. In 1903 Mississippi chose him as its bishop and in 1904 Kentucky did likewise. Southern Virginia invited him to become its bishop-coadjutor in 1905, Maryland in 1908, and Virginia in 1909.

I.

Lloyd had very little difficulty in deciding to decline the first two elections. He did not feel that he had completed the work he had gone to New York to do, and it seemed to him that his post as General Secretary of the Board of Missions offered a wider sphere of services to the essential task of the Church than either of the dioceses. Though pressure was put upon him to accept, the people whose judgment he most valued urged him to stay where he was. Several bishops wrote in the same vein as Bishop Johnston of West Texas: "You are now doing a bigger work for the Master and His Kingdom than any bishop." Bishop Brent wrote from Manila: "You have an influence that you yourself cannot be aware of—a man is never aware of the deepest influence he is exerting; he can only put it forth because he is unconscious of it. . . . Without attempting to analyze its elements, I feel that you have set flowing a spiritual stream that is in the gift only of a devout nature and a man of God." Many other missionaries mentioned the "new feeling of sympathy and contact be-

tween the Office and the Fields" since he and Wood had gone to "281," and begged him to remain. Bishop Doane, Mr. Thomas, and other members of the Board thought that with the impression he had already made on the Church in America he could do more than anybody else to lead it forward to a stronger sense of missionary responsibility and urged him not to leave until he had consolidated the gains already won. Men like Mr. Robert E. Speer of the Presbyterian Board and Mr. Eugene Stock of the Church Missionary Society in England spoke of the contribution he was making to the missionary cause outside the Episcopal Church and hoped he would remain in the post where he could continue to wield that influence.

To decide on the call to Southern Virginia was the most difficult task Lloyd had faced up to that time. He had worked in the diocese, loved it, and believed that the missionary work in the southwestern part which was to be the special responsibility of the coadjutor was very important. A desire had been growing in him to put into practice in a definite area the methods of organization and administration he had been advocating for all dioceses. The chance of giving his family a home in his native state away from the rush and "unnaturalness" of New York was hard to resist. Letters by the score from valued friends in the diocese pled with him to return, urging his unique fitness for the work. The colored clergy begged him to come and be their father-in-God.

There was also great pressure to stay at "281." Members of the Board and missionary bishops wrote as they had done at the time of his two previous elections, one of them adding, "To my mind it is sheer presumption for a diocese to call you. It is, as it were, to ask the president of the United States to become mayor of a city." One missionary wrote of "the great

value of a General Secretary with whom we can really have dealings as a friend who understands and sympathizes. Heretofore, I must tell you in confidence, I have gone to the Missions House to report solely as a matter of duty. Each time I have previously been there I have found that everything was apparently on a purely business footing, and after I had said what was necessary about financial matters there was little left to do but to get out. We used to call it 'the ecclesiastical refrigerator' under the old regime. On this visit you have personally given indescribable satisfaction to me and have changed the course of my thoughts about resigning from the field."

At the moment when the call came, Lloyd felt he had completed a cycle of work at "281" and that he could leave without jeopardizing the gains that had been made. Consequently, he was strongly minded to accept until he learned that Bishop Randolph was disappointed at his election. One friend of both men wrote him, "The Bishop wanted his counterpart as a scholar and preacher; the diocese wanted his complement." Letters from the Bishop showed how he felt. In the nature of the office, a bishop-coadjutor was bound to be thrown into closest relationships with the diocesan. To be assistant to a man who did not want him was no pleasant prospect. So Lloyd declined.

Lloyd received expressions of satisfaction with his decision from many people. What touched him most of all was when a charwoman at "281" told him shyly that she was very glad she could still work in the same building with him.

The election to be bishop-coadjutor of Maryland presented no great problems. Three days after receiving the notification he declined because his work as General Secretary was not finished. "It is right for me to retain the office until it is

vacated by the will of the Church, or else until imperative personal considerations shall make it seem right for me to ask to be relieved."

One of the letters urging acceptance shows the opinion in which Lloyd was held. The Presiding Bishop, Bishop Tuttle, based his plea on the ground that Lloyd's entering the House of Bishops would do more than anything else to raise that body in popular esteem and thereby make its leadership more useful.

Lloyd's declination was received with delight by Church folk everywhere. His classmate Mercer Logan said that the four declinations of the episcopate constituted "the greatest sermon on missions ever preached." It was generally agreed that this fourth refusal to enter the House of Bishops meant that Lloyd would never leave "281" as long as his health held out.

2.

Lloyd's acceptance of the election as Coadjutor of Virginia in 1909 so soon after declining Maryland brought a great deal of criticism upon him. He knew in advance that he was going to be nominated and that probably he would be elected. Several acquaintances had written that if he accepted in spite of all he had just told the Marylanders about the claims of the General Secretaryship, it would cause them to entertain grave doubts as to the sincerity of that letter. These letters, as well as others asking if he felt in a position to consider the episcopate seriously, he refused to answer with two exceptions, one from a very intimate friend and one from the Bishop of Virginia, and to these men he wrote that he had no idea what he would do if elected.

He was chosen on the first ballot. Most of the Virginia

clergy urged him to accept, though a few said they did not see how he could do so honorably. Very few people outside Virginia wanted him to leave "281." The Bishop of California wanted his missionary leadership in the House of Bishops; Dr. Alsop advised him to "get out from under the terrific strain." The bulk of his letters argued that his leadership and intimate knowledge of the work were more important than ever in view of the fact that the treasurer of the Board, Mr. George Thomas, had just died.

Five days after the election Lloyd accepted. What made him do so in the face of what he had told Maryland so recently and of the certainty that he would forfeit the good opinion of quite a few people?

There were three chief reasons. For one thing, he expected to leave "281" some day, and he would rather leave it for Virginia than any other part of the country. Again, there is no doubt that he was feeling the strain at "281." There was the physical strain of constant travel, and there was the other strain of knowing that several of the Board members definitely wished he would leave and had tried to effect his departure several times. Bishop Gailor, his chief champion, told John Wood on one occasion that his major contribution to missions was forestalling the efforts of the minority to oust Lloyd.

This opposition was due to distrust of his judgment. Some of them thought him too much a dreamer in his attitude toward financial problems and deficits. It was based also on a desire to have a General Secretary who would do more personal solicitation than Lloyd would. Another contributing factor was the feeling of a few that Lloyd was acquiring too much power. On one occasion he had presented a proposal and after considerable debate remarked to his neighbor,

"How much faster the work would be done if they wasted less time in discussion." At that Bishop Francis broke out, "Lloyd, you want us to be rubber stamps and we won't. Here you have been studying this matter for months with all the facts before you and we have been considering it only an hour with such information as you have seen fit to give us. I refuse simply to endorse automatically what you propose." The last cause of opposition was the inability of some members to understand his fervent spirit which seemed more concerned to get people praying than giving. But whatever the reasons, and however well or ill justified, the opposition wore on him at times.

A third element in Lloyd's decision was a feeling that the death of Mr. Thomas made possible a thorough reorganization of "281." We have seen his desire for more centralized control and for the Presiding Bishop to be the administrative head. While the latter was not feasible, some men had begun to work during the winter of 1909 to have a new canon passed at the General Convention of 1910 under the provisions of which a missionary bishop would be made the head, with a new title and wider powers. Lloyd thought there was a fair chance for this to pass, and he strongly hoped it would. If it should, his position would be filled by another; and if that were the case, he would never be offered a position so congenial as well as useful as the Virginia episcopate.

As soon as his decision became known, a flood of letters came to him from every part of the world:—missionaries saying what his service at "281" had meant to them; Americans interested in missions telling him how much he had done to awaken the home Church to its task; people of every rank expressing gratitude for what he had done for them personally, the janitor and charwoman at "281," presidents of uni-

versities, editors, bankers, clergymen, children. Through many of these letters ran a common idea couched in many phrases, an idea put by one person: "You have helped me catch a vision of the noble simplicity of life as revealed by Christ in his perfect fulfilling of every human relation."

There was one humorously jarring note. A Richmond layman wrote at great length that since voting for Lloyd he had received very serious news. "I am told that you smoke cigarettes." The correspondent was entirely unable to believe that a man so widely revered could permit himself so pernicious an indulgence; but, he added, if by any mischance the report were true, of course, Lloyd must immediately stop the habit. Smoking cigarettes would obviously prevent a man from fulfilling the pledge demanded at consecration that he would be a wholesome example and pattern to the flock of Christ.

Very shortly after his acceptance Lloyd received letters from five parishes offering their churches for his consecration. The Woman's Guild of his old Norfolk parish and the national officers of the Woman's Auxiliary asked permission to give him episcopal robes. They also gave him the office furniture he used throughout the rest of his life and which he left in his will to the office of the Foreign Secretary at "281." Students and professors at the University of Virginia, the parents of many students there, and various clergymen urged him to fix his residence at Charlottesville so that his influence might be exerted throughout the University.

3.

During the summer Lloyd was busy with arrangements for his consecration and for his daughter's wedding, with

deciding where to live and securing a house, with the efforts to find successors for Mr. Thomas and himself.

Lloyd's first choice for his own post was Mr. George Wharton Pepper of Philadelphia; but he was persuaded not to press it by Bishop Doane on the grounds that the General Secretary ought to be a clergyman, that if a layman were chosen John Wood had earned it, and that Pepper's influence counted for more as a practicing lawyer and man of affairs than it would as a lay secretary at "281." Bishop Edsall of Minnesota suggested that Lloyd could do all that Bishop Gibson seemed to need or desire, judging by the work he had assigned to the coadjutor, on half time; and also that the activities of "281" had been so well organized that Lloyd could give the essential leadership to the whole and the pastoral help to missionaries that was so valuable on half time; and that it would be an excellent thing to have a bishop as General Secretary. He urged, therefore, that some arrangement be worked out whereby Lloyd could divide his labors. Bishop Gibson vetoed this proposal. The Board finally decided not to elect any General Secretary till General Convention should meet the following year. It proposed then to ask such considerably wider powers for the chief executive officer at "281" that probably a bishop would be elected to the position, and it hardly seemed fair to ask a priest to leave his parish for but twelve months. For the position of Treasurer Lloyd heartily seconded Bishop Doane's nomination of Mr. George Gordon King, a well-known New York financier, who was elected by the Board at the September meeting and accepted.

During the summer of 1909 arrangements were being made for the marriage of the eldest daughter, Mary, to the Reverend Edmund P. Dandridge, rector at Ronceverte, West

Virginia (now Bishop-Coadjutor of Tennessee). The engagement was announced in the spring, and the pleasantest part of the Lloyds' correspondence in the following months were the letters congratulating them on their future son-in-law. The wedding was held in Alexandria on October 6th. As the years went by, Dandridge became one of Lloyd's closest religious and theological confidants.

Lloyd decided to fix his residence in Alexandria, partly because it had better rail connections to more parts of the diocese than any other city and partly because of its proximity to the Seminary. When he accepted his election, he not only incurred the expense of a house and its repairs but his salary was halved. He had been receiving \$7500 at "281"; as bishop-coadjutor he was to get \$3600. This forced him to allow a \$10,000 life insurance policy to lapse because he could not afford the premium, and to prune his own personal expenditures to the limit. Both he and his wife thought it a cardinal point of honor to "pay your own way"; both thought it essential for any public figure, especially a clergyman, to avoid incurring obligations to anybody lest others should think his freedom of speech or action had been impaired thereby. As a result they never accepted help in any form, no matter how gracefully offered, except such as really represented a fair return for services rendered. Throughout his period at "281" he always paid his own traveling expenses and never would use a clerical half-fare ticket. The railroads were not indebted to him for anything; to accept their gratuity would be to occupy a privileged position, a thing quite out of place for a clergyman. Though his year at Alexandria was the hardest of all, financial difficulties did not end till four years later. At that time Lloyd remarked to his son-in-law, "For the first time since my first child was born, all my debts are paid and I owe no man anything."

For the consecration Lloyd decided on Christ Church, Alexandria, the church where he had been baptized and confirmed, the church of which his family were to be parishioners. He had wanted the ceremony to be held on St. Luke's Day or All Saints Day, but neither was feasible because that year both of them fell on Monday, a day on which it was impossible for the Presiding Bishop to reach Alexandria. October 20th was finally set. In October Lloyd presided at the last meeting of the officers of the Woman's Auxiliary, at which they tried to tell him what he had meant to them. Through them he urged the women of the Church ever to remember that their main work was to give themselves to God, to live in the consciousness of His presence, to try by His help to exhibit His spirit of love and purity in daily life. If they gave themselves to God they would give their money for His work; if they won others to Him they would secure funds. But to put money as the first objective was "to let His business down to the ground. At every time, everywhere keep a sharp distinction between raising money and making offerings. . . . You must try to do the King's business in the King's own way, and to help people be sorry that they ever thought of giving as other than a token of their love."

In retrospect the most significant thing about the past ten years seemed to Lloyd to be that parochialism was waning and Church people were beginning to think in terms of the body and the body's task. The Apportionment Plan, the development of the Woman's Auxiliary and the Church Schools, the vastly greater activity of laymen in missionary and pastoral work, the increased number of parishes that were seriously studying and contributing to missions, all pointed to a dawning awareness of the true nature and func-

tion of the whole society of Christ's disciples. And for this, above all else, he gave thanks.

4.

Tuesday, October 20th, was a superb day. Every seat on the floor and in the galleries of Christ Church was filled long before the hour set for the service. After the processional hymn a sermon was preached by Bishop Doane of Albany which attracted wide attention and precisely agreed with Lloyd's own convictions. After demonstrating the fatal results of disunity and their origin in differing conceptions of the ministry and especially of the episcopate, the preacher urged that Episcopalians cease to argue in the face of the evidence that Jesus commanded that office or that there was an unbroken succession of bishops from the Apostles' day, that they cease to "unchurch" those who had not the episcopate and to cavil about "validity." Instead, he begged that they claim only what the evidence proved: that from the second century the right to send men forth to preach the Gospel and to celebrate the sacraments had been vested in bishops. Basing themselves on historic fact, he pled that the Episcopal Church should offer to share with those who for various reasons had not the episcopal office "this hallmark, this hand, this seal of historicalness; knitting together the second and twentieth centuries, and bridging over the great gulf of the last centuries of separation." After the sermon Lloyd was consecrated by the Presiding Bishop, Randolph of Southern Virginia, Gibson of Virginia, Doane, Peterkin of West Virginia and Gravatt his coadjutor, Tucker, Coadjutor of Southern Virginia, Reese of Georgia, Harding of Washington, and Courtney of Nova Scotia.

During the summer Lloyd had been studying about the two hundred and forty churches, chapels, and missions in the diocese. Bishop Gibson had written frequently about the work. He was extremely cordial in welcoming his fellow worker and in trying to explain the whole situation of the Church in Virginia so that he might gain a true perspective on its needs and opportunities. He urged Lloyd to arrange his appointments to suit himself, at first offering only some suggestions as to the most convenient way of grouping the rural places, and finally at Lloyd's request, making out a schedule for the first month.

Three days after his consecration Lloyd set out on his first visitations, going to Fredericksburg, King George Court House, and the Northern Neck. He had written over a month previously to the various clergymen that he wanted to learn as much as he could and to do whatever they thought would be of most use to their parishes. From the start of his first visitation he was constantly traveling about the diocese, most of the time in a buggy over very bad roads. From every trip he returned home exhausted, but the only way he showed fatigue was by sending the children out of the room. He could not stand noise when he was tired out. In a few days he would be rested and eager to start off on another round of visitations.

Lloyd was Bishop-Coadjutor of Virginia for fourteen months. In the course of that time he administered Confirmation to 587 persons in 203 churches and chapels. In addition, he preached in various places on about sixty other occasions. In the same period he gave some fifty addresses outside the diocese, almost all of them in the cause of missions.

On one of his earliest visitations, Lloyd asked the con-

gregation to remain after the service. He then spoke very simply and informally about the fact that they belonged to a body which had a task, and they needed to know about the work. He asked them how many regularly read one of the Church papers, naming them all. Exactly one person raised her hand. In sheer astonishment Lloyd exclaimed, "Well, by George!" This seemed to him terrible "religious illiteracy" and meant complete ignorance about "the family's affairs." So wherever he went on visitations thereafter one of his objectives was to persuade people to read the Church papers that they might know about the Church's work.

Lloyd always contrived to meet the men, and very soon gained a strong hold over many of them. Not only his simplicity and devotion, but also his straight-forwardness won them. After a service one Sunday, he lit a cigarette. Knowing that this was not thought to be good form for a bishop, one of them said to him:

"Well, Bishop, I am surprised. Why do you do a thing like that?"

"Because I like it. Anything else you want to know about it?"

When Lloyd was in Alexandria he used to go out to the Seminary as often as possible, sometimes taking students out for walks, sometimes joining some of them in a room and discussing whatever might be on their minds, occasionally addressing the entire student body at the Thursday evening devotional meetings. One of the men who was in the Seminary wrote that the main impression Lloyd made on the men was his complete sincerity and his passionate scorn of unreality in life or words. "Pioussity" ("The quality in a man that makes everyone know on sight he's a parson and go the other way"), was his chief antipathy, and only second

were "trifling" and "flippancy." He urged the cause of missions. In one address he put it, "Young men, if you want to serve the Church get ready for the foreign service. I don't mean that all of you ought to go. Most of you probably shouldn't. But always remember that the norm of the ministry is not the man in a comfortable parish at home, but the norm is the furthest man up the Yangtze River."

In addition to missions he spoke on four main topics to the public gatherings. First he insisted that they must know what the Protestant Episcopal Church stood for. "I hope I can make you very uncomfortable until you have thought through its position," he often said. Thus they would be saved from going to extremes and from misrepresenting its genius. Next, he urged the importance of understanding the positions of other Churches, of respecting their convictions and coöperating with them in sincere friendliness. Thirdly, he held before the men an exalted conception of the Church, the priesthood, the sacraments, trying to destroy the idea that the Church was simply a voluntary association of like-minded people membership in which was optional for Christians, or that the sacraments were of minor importance. He spoke so strongly on this line that he gained the reputation of being a High-Churchman and a sacramentarian. Lastly, he warned his hearers of the dangers of the sacraments and the priesthood. If one attached efficacy to the mere performance of a rite or thought that episcopal Orders were all one needed, one was on the high-road to hell. If one thought that receiving the Holy Communion was beneficial apart from whole-hearted efforts to live Christianly, one was by way of being damned.

During his years in New York Lloyd had come to a much fuller appreciation of the "Catholic" position than formerly,

and though he strongly disagreed with its *ex opere operato* theory of the sacraments and its emphasis that no non-episcopal body was part of the true Church, yet he wanted the future clergy to appreciate its values and to understand it, for only as its various groups understood and respected one another could the Episcopal Church become united and strong in its work. But it was every bit as important to understand the Protestant Churches in America. Though he differed from them in their under-emphasis on sacraments and episcopacy, yet Christian love demanded they be sympathetically understood and appreciated, and such understanding was the prime requisite for the unity between the Churches which was imperative for the fulfilment of the mission of the whole Body of Christ. His attitude is partially illustrated by his view of the mooted question of admitting unconfirmed people to the Holy Communion. People born into the Episcopal Church ought to go through its prescribed form of Confirmation before being accorded the highest Christian privilege, for that was the rule in that branch of the Christian family. But to refuse a member in good standing of some other Church seemed like turning a cousin away from the family table. It was an unspeakable breach of Christian love and courtesy. Furthermore, it served to increase the sin of satisfaction in their ecclesiastical inheritance which was such a danger to Episcopalians, as well as to foster among others the suspicion that Episcopalians were more concerned for their own peculiar usages than for the Lord's work, and these two factors were among the greatest obstacles to Christian unity.

Lloyd's work outside the diocese was almost entirely undertaken in the interests of missions. He spoke at various meetings and was one of the leaders at the Quadrennial

International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement. In April, 1910, he was elected to the Board of Missions in succession to Bishop Scarborough and was immediately put on the Advisory Committee, which necessitated attendance at its monthly meetings in New York. For over a year he had been taking part in the preparations for the international and interdenominational missionary conference which was called for June, 1910, at Edinburgh and had agreed to attend it. When he became bishop he gave up his position as one of the delegates but continued to serve on the preparatory committee. "No one was more active and helpful than Bishop Lloyd in planning for the World Missionary Conference," wrote Dr. Robert E. Speer.

In preparation for Edinburgh, the promoters published some statistics which revealed to many people for the first time the scope of the missionary enterprise. Leaving out the work of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches, the activities of the other communions were supported by an annual budget of approximately \$25,500,000; it used over 19,000 "foreign" and 98,000 "native" workers, ordained and lay men and women; its "native" constituency was 5,300,000. Of this work, more than 80 per cent was done by British and American societies. The American Episcopal Church had in its mission jurisdictions 15,204 confirmed *communicants*. If it had reckoned all the baptized, and those under instruction for baptism, its reported membership would have been about 55,000.

5.

During the period of his secretaryship and Virginian episcopate Lloyd saw little of his family, and this was by all

odds the most disagreeable feature of that decade. As General Secretary of the Board he was on the road for a large part of each year, and when he was in New York he had to leave home very early every morning and return late in the evening, except on an occasional Saturday. He preached nearly every Sunday, and rarely at churches from which he could get home in time for dinner. It was only on the Saturday afternoons when he was not on the road that he was with his family. Sometimes he was too tired then to play with his children and the numerous other children of the neighborhood, but the occasions when he could join in their ball games or other sports were among the happiest of his life. As bishop-coadjutor he spent over half of his time away from Alexandria on visitations within the diocese or on trips for the Board of Missions. When he was home his time was fully occupied with correspondence and the innumerable details of a bishop's office. And throughout that year most of his children were away from home. The result was that his association with his children was practically limited to the month's vacation he spent with them for seven summers at Sweet Chalybeate Springs, West Virginia. Here he dismissed his work from his mind, spending his time reading and resting and taking walks. He never was enthusiastic over fishing or games involving violent physical exercise, and he could not afford golf.

Because of her husband's frequent absence the main responsibility for bringing up the family fell on Mrs. Lloyd. She was the disciplinarian. Probably she would have been so even if he had been at home constantly, for his nature was to see something of good in nearly everything a child did and to forgive the wrong. But his wife, for all her gentleness, insisted that the children toe the line or take the conse-

quences. It was probably for the good of the family that his leniency was more than balanced by her strictness.

Mrs. Lloyd was the source of most of the children's moral and religious training. None of them were ever sent to Sunday School. Lloyd felt so deeply that what he had learned from his mother was far more important than any other early religious nurture that he wanted his children to have the priceless advantage of home teaching. Mrs. Lloyd felt strongly that Sunday Schools were but necessary substitutes for parents who failed to do their duty. As a matter of course all the children and anybody else who might be staying in their house went to church with her on Sunday morning.

But Lloyd was by no means a negligible factor in the lives of his children. He counted every minute he could be with them as so much gain. He loved to have one of his daughters play with her doll under his desk while he was working there or to have John do his lessons on a stool by his side. Near the end of his life an officer of the Woman's Auxiliary chanced to see in his vestment case a very shabby, worn-out cretonne bag in which he carried a hairbrush. She asked if he would not like a new one. "Certainly not," he answered, "one of my daughters made that when she was a little maid." It was in his bag when he died.

If Lloyd was devoted to his children, it was his privilege to have their confidence and affection to a rare degree and to influence them as few fathers influence their children. They felt he understood them fully, even to the aspirations too deep for words. They appreciated his very genuine respect for them as individual human beings. They knew he thought them capable of more than they did themselves. To fulfil his expectations became a powerful motive with all of them. Furthermore, many of the most important decisions affecting

them were made by him. It was he, for instance, who insisted that Elizabeth and Gay, only eighteen months apart in age and inseparable companions, should go to different boarding schools lest their continued intimacy inhibit the full flowering of the individuality of either. As the years went by all the children increasingly appreciated his wisdom and his ability to enter sympathetically into every situation they encountered. He became their confidant and advisor — and of his sons-in-law as well.

The wisdom of his advice and his respect for their individualities is illustrated by what he said to one of his daughters and her fiancé the night before their wedding. "There's just one thing I want to tell you. You love each other as much as two young people can, and the natural tendency of each is going to be to subordinate yourself entirely to the other. But remember that God has given each of you an independent personality, and your duty is to be yourself. Each of you ought to develop your own interests and abilities as well as your joint interests. Don't try to submerge your own individuality or to make yourself like the other."

Life in the Lloyd household was anything but dull in these years when five very vital children were growing up. The parents carefully refrained from dampening their high spirits. Lloyd dearly loved humor, and both he and his wife delighted in exchanges of witty repartee. Conversation ran freely. In days when many family tables were overshadowed by taboos, Lloyd and his wife made their children feel free to discuss with them any subject whatsoever, so long as it was done in a spirit of frankness, courtesy, and respect, treating their immature ideas with consideration and answering their questions with complete candor. The only things absolutely beyond the pale in the family circle were taking liber-

ties with people and treating serious questions flippantly. For flippancy signified either a dishonest mind which refused to admit that some things were important or else a superficiality which was incapable of distinguishing between momentous and trivial affairs. It was certainly the antithesis of wit, for wit brought out the true value of things. So while wit and inquisitiveness were encouraged, flippancy was treated as essentially immoral. In such an atmosphere of mutual trust, honesty, and humor, individualities developed unwarped, much education was imbibed unconsciously, and the children acquired for their parents the sort of love which combines tremendous veneration with quizzical geniality.

Of course there were restrictions on conduct. The general rule was, "Do anything you are convinced our Lord would approve." But in Virginia concessions were made to the conventions prevalent among Church folk of that day. The girls were not allowed to dance in public buildings or to smoke in public, because the people among whom they were living and working would misunderstand such conduct; but since there was nothing inherently wrong in either of these pursuits, they were allowed to indulge in both at home or in the houses of their friends. They did not play tennis or similar games on Sunday for the same reason. But Lloyd was no legalist in this matter. His daughter Elizabeth married a young business man named Charles Symington. The latter had feared that he would be asked to give up Sunday tennis. But neither during the courtship nor after the wedding did Lloyd make any such suggestion. Symington had no other chances for such sport. He could play it on Sunday with a clear conscience. Lloyd saw no reason why such a business man needed to be bound by conventions that applied with propriety to clergymen.

Both the Lloyds thought it would be bad for their daughters to spend all their time in Orange. There were too many boys, and the girls might become boy-crazy. So all of them were sent to boarding school. And since the parents were determined at all costs to give them the best possible education and to have them in the most wholesome environment, they were sent to two of the best schools in the country, St. Timothy's and Oldfields, both of which were near Baltimore. When they had graduated and were living at home once more, the parents were particular about what young men paid attention to them. Among those who visited the house in Alexandria fairly frequently for a time were several whom Lloyd became convinced were "triflers." In no uncertain language he told them that he never wanted to see them in his house again. It was so rarely that Lloyd spoke scathingly to anybody that the few people to whom it did happen never forgot it.

Even though Lloyd was with his family comparatively little, his home was of inestimable importance to him. For his wife he had a reverence beyond words. His friends gained some insight into his feeling for her by his habit of always speaking of her as "the head of our house," and of "her home" and "her children." He taught the children that their first consideration must ever be for "your little mother." He rejoiced in her beauty—a beauty that was a delicate and fine loveliness—even as he was often anxious over her health. His associates in the office could tell from his face in the morning if anything was amiss with her, and equally they could see when she had returned home from one of her visits to Virginia. In rare references to her in his letters he says, "It was given me to marry the one perfect woman. . . . She gives me a sense of security and the knowledge that my back

is protected. . . . Wherever she is is home." And his home was always the haven to which he turned for rest and refreshment of mind and body. There he found complete satisfaction and fulfilment.

He was a very thin-skinned man and criticism hurt him deeply. Not that he expected to be immune from it. He once said to Elizabeth, "Never explain yourself. Do what you think is right, and never complain or explain when people criticize you as they are certain to do." This rule he followed all his life. He received a great deal of criticism at "281" and suffered under it in silence. In the atmosphere of his family the wounds thus received were healed. He also suffered over his "inarticulateness"; his inability to convey to others what he saw by intuition. A vision of the Church and its function burned in his soul but only rarely could he communicate more than a vague impression of all he felt. He longed for the gift of incisive logic and the right word as he longed for few things, and frequently urged his children and grandchildren to cultivate the art of verbal expression. Often he would come home feeling entirely frustrated because of his lack in this respect, and again the home atmosphere had a reviving effect.

Nor was Lloyd what is usually meant by "a strong man." He hated controversy and would go to great lengths to keep out of it. Several times it was Mrs. Lloyd who persuaded him that some vital principle was involved in the deliberations of the Board or the Standing Committee of the diocese. When convinced either by his own thought or his wife's arguments that such was the case, he would contend to the uttermost for his convictions, but always with distaste and pain. His instinctive first feeling was that the majority must have been right. Once when a friend told him that he could

not persuade the Church to adopt his ideas on organization and administration because they were a hundred years ahead of his time, he replied, "You may be right that my ideas are ahead of my times, though I think it's more likely that they're just queer or that I was unable to present them right. But even if you are right, remember that the Church has always got to be a hundred behind its more advanced leaders, because all their ideas have got to be tried out and tested before the Church can afford to take them at their face value." But on some occasions reflection made him the more convinced of the rightness of his proposals and led to renewed efforts on their behalf, notably in the matters of coöperation with other communions and the centralization of the administration of all national Church agencies.

But if his home brought refreshment of spirit and renewed determination, the principal source of Lloyd's reinvigoration was prayer. He was not given to formal private devotions. They seemed too mechanical for him. But communion with his Master was constant. To turn briefly away from external tasks that he might present some problem to the Lord and try thereby to gain His perspective upon it was as natural to him as it is for a cold man to draw up near a fire. Few people saw him alone on his knees, though sometimes a person coming into his study or office without knocking would surprise him in that posture. Still fewer people heard him talk about his life of prayer. It was too intensely private. To expose it to the public gaze would be like conducting one's courtship in public. But his intimates knew that he spent long hours in adoring contemplation of Christ, subjecting his plans to his Master's scrutiny, trying to bring his will into complete harmony with his Lord's, pleading for people and enterprises, expressing gratitude for many blessings and in particular for

God's graciousness in revealing His love and man's true nature in Jesus Christ. And people have put on record that when talking to Lloyd they felt they were with a man who had just stood in the very presence of his Father and Lord.

Of equal importance to him was the Holy Communion. As he there commemorated the Master's Sacrifice on the Cross in the liturgical manner which the Church had observed during the centuries in every land and in every tongue, and as he offered himself to God in union with the Lord's self-offering, and as he knelt with others before the Master's Table, he felt afresh that he was no solitary disciple but a member of a great company; and as he received the consecrated bread and wine, he was confident that they were instruments through which the Master's Spirit touched his life, as of old He had affected the Twelve through his physical body. He could meet and commune with the Christ anywhere and at any time; but this meeting place had been appointed by the Lord, and each year Lloyd found it more significant.

Chapter VII

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD

I.

IN OCTOBER, 1910, the General Convention met at Cincinnati. It was distinguished above most previous meetings of that body by the extent to which it concentrated on missionary problems. It created five new districts and chose bishops for them. Under the leadership of Bishop Brent, who had recently returned from the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh and who realized as few others the need for Church unity if the missionary enterprise were to be effective, it appointed a Committee on Faith and Order and charged it with calling a meeting of representatives of all the Churches in the world to see if agreement on the essentials were possible. It altered the machinery through which the missionary work was administered, abolishing the office of General Secretary and creating that of President. The President was given greater powers and initiative than the General Secretary had had. He was to be the executive head of the Board rather than simply its agent. He was to have a term of six years and might be a bishop, presbyter, or layman. He was given the right to nominate such Secretaries as he thought necessary and to assign them such work as he saw fit; they were to be, in effect, his cabinet.

Having thus increased the responsibilities and power of the head of the Board, the Convention next proceeded to choose a man to fill the post. The joint committee appointed

to nominate submitted but one name to each house, that of Bishop Brent of the Philippine Islands. In the eyes of most Episcopalians he was the Church's foremost missionary, and he was known far outside the bounds of his own communion and nation. Ever since the movement began for enhancing the position of the head of the Board of Missions, Lloyd had hoped Brent would be chosen for the post because of his breadth of vision and his ability to lead. When some of Lloyd's friends had remonstrated that a bishop had no right to leave his diocese to be head of the Board, he answered that if the office were altered as he expected, it would be the most important post in the Church, and no man had a right to decline.

The voting occurred on the first anniversary of Lloyd's consecration. When the House of Bishops met a great many of them wrote in Lloyd's name, and on the fifth ballot he was elected. The missionary bishops supported him to a man. They knew him and what he was likely to do; they approved it; and they preferred to have him as President to someone who might use the powers of the office in unforeseen ways. Some diocesans voted for Lloyd because they distrusted what they regarded as Brent's too great impetuosity. When the news of the Bishops' action was communicated to the Deputies, Mr. Pepper at once withdrew Brent's name, and the House unanimously concurred in Lloyd's election.

Lloyd was so sure of Brent's election that he was not in the House of Bishops during the voting. When Bishop Gailor and John Wood told him the news he was as astonished as though they had struck him in the face. He conferred with Bishop Gibson, suggesting that he might accept the office of President while continuing to be coadjutor of Virginia. The latter post had not struck him as so onerous as to pre-

clude the possibility of combining the two. To do both was his intense desire. He did *not* want to sever his connection with the diocese of Virginia. He felt there were great possibilities there and that when he became diocesan he would be able to put some of his ideas into effect. He intensely disliked the prospect of leaving Virginia and returning to New York, even more for his wife's sake than for his own. But Bishop Gibson rejected the idea of combining the two posts and told him he must choose either Virginia or New York. His advisors all urged him to accept the Presidency. Most of the night he spent in thought and prayer. In the early morning he wrote out his resignation as bishop-coadjutor of Virginia, to go into effect the first of the following January, and telegraphed his wife, "You have all my sympathy. Your husband has been elected President of the Board of Missions." When the House of Bishops met he announced he would accept the presidency of the Board and secured its acceptance of his resignation from Virginia.

Why did Lloyd leave Virginia so quickly? The main reason, undoubtedly, was that he thought the Church had issued him an order which he had no right to decline. The words he had spoken about Bishop Brent before the election were repeated to him. Not to accept the call would be to disobey the Church. Even Virginia had to take second place to the general Church.

There were, however, other factors, subsidiary but not unimportant. His experience in Virginia had already convinced Lloyd of two things: that he was going to have an increasingly difficult time working as Bishop Gibson's assistant, and that as long as Bishop Gibson lived he would have very little opportunity to do any of the things most on his heart; that the office of president of the Board of Missions

was of wider importance and offered a larger scope for usefulness than any diocese, even Virginia.

Lloyd's personal relations with Bishop Gibson were always cordial, and wherever he went around the diocese he did his utmost to win people to support his chief's policies. The latter several times spoke to his son about Lloyd's loyalty to him. But they were very different types of men. Bishop Gibson had little system in his records and office work; Lloyd had become convinced that without system there could be no efficiency. Bishop Gibson thought a stenographer was in the way; Lloyd thought the lack of such help involved the waste of much valuable time and paid for one out of his own pocket. Bishop Gibson, while personally very generous, was extremely economical of the diocesan funds; Lloyd, while utterly averse to running the diocese into debt, believed it was necessary to use money for promotion purposes, and that a dollar spent wisely today might save ten dollars the day after tomorrow. Bishop Gibson, an elderly gentleman, was inclined to let things drift and to content himself with confirming, preaching, and counseling those who came for advice; Lloyd thought a bishop ought to be a vigorous leader, with definite policies and programs for the expansion of the work so that the whole resources of the diocese might be harnessed to a common plan. Otherwise there could be no growth. Furthermore, Bishop Gibson was a good deal of an authoritarian and was unwilling for Lloyd to assume initiative, with the result that Lloyd felt he could do nothing for the expansion of the Church in Virginia. If the bishop would lead the diocese vigorously in its missionary work he was quite prepared to play a secondary role; but if the bishop would not, and he could not, he might be more useful elsewhere.

Lloyd's resignation was utterly unintelligible to some Virginians. Many of them thought he was treating them badly. A few suspected unworthy motives. One old clergyman, a distant relative, said to him, "Well, Arthur, we don't believe you went because of the salary, but we don't see what else it could have been that attracted you." Others suggested he had grown so attached to the publicity of his function in New York, constant speaking to big crowds and exerting influence in large affairs, that he no longer cared to visit small churches and deal with local matters.

Nothing that ever happened to him hurt him so deeply as this attitude of his friends and kinsfolk to his return to "281." It was as though his mother had wilfully misunderstood him. People who knew him ought to believe in him. He would not explain his actions. To do so would have violated a fundamental principle. Consequently, he felt hesitant as long as he lived about going back to his native state on visits; and he never again visited the Seminary except when specifically invited.

The Lloyds quickly moved to New York. For a few years they lived in an apartment on East 25th Street and for the rest of his presidency at One Lexington Avenue.

When the reorganized Board of Missions met on November 3rd, Lloyd showed at once that he intended to be the leader of the Board and not simply its presiding officer. He announced that hereafter all Board meetings would begin with a celebration of the Holy Communion, that it would adjourn for intercessions at noon each day, and that it would close with a service. He always had felt the Board needed to spend more time in worship in order that it might see its business steadfastly from the right perspective. In his inaugural address he urged that the Board secure far more exact

information on conditions and needs in America — movements of population, immigration, the circumstances of the Indians and Negroes, the inhabitants of the slums and the desolate regions, than was then available; for these factors presented the problems which must be met by people seriously interested in making Christ known and in ministering to the needy. It was equally important that the members should become much better acquainted with the conditions where its agents were working overseas. Only when the Board knew the facts could it decide how much of the need its resources could meet and determine where to act. But the Board directed only a small part of the missionary work. Other communions sustained larger activities. It must know their work, coöperate with them, refrain from reduplication, and act as an agent for securing eventual Christian unity by helping to unify the missionary enterprise. Only when the Board knew the facts could it plan wisely; only by presenting facts and wise plans could it win the needed support.

After the routine business had been dispatched the Board was reminded that the new districts created by General Convention meant new expenses. These new expenses, in addition to current appropriations, demanded \$275,000 in excess of the Board's income, and already there was a considerable deficit. In order to wipe out the deficit, to meet the added expenses and inaugurate new work, it decided to ask the Church for \$500,000 in excess of the apportionment of \$1,370,000, and instructed the Executive Committee to devise and put through a general Forward Movement.

The Executive Committee met under Lloyd's chairmanship two weeks later. It prepared a message to be sent to all bishops and parish priests, stating that the next decade would

probably be a turning point in human history for better or for worse. There were indications of serious breakdowns ahead. But there were opportunities for wholly new departures in the right direction. The world situation called for an immediate and vigorous Forward Movement. No less did the needs of the Church demand that she move forward into a new sphere of integration, effort, and accomplishment, for, like every living thing, the Church had to grow or lose its health and survival value. Its membership could easily provide the necessary funds. Not over one-fifth of the *communicants* contributed anything at all for extra-parochial work. The other four-fifths could be reached by a systematic and thorough canvass the way to execute which was outlined in detail. This canvass was not something to be inflicted upon reluctant Christians: it was the fulfilment of the Church's obligation to give each individual an opportunity to support the work its Master had laid upon it; it was an opportunity for explaining what the Church was and why it existed, what the Christian faith was and its implications for the use of talents and money. The details of the canvass were modelled closely on the technique used so successfully by the Laymen's Missionary Movement; the stress on the spiritual and educational side above the financial was Lloyd's.

At this meeting the Board embraced the position of aggressive leadership that General Convention had assigned it. It would not let things coast. It determined to meet the new opportunities confronting the Church, involving the Church in considerably increased expense, and to try to educate it to its true nature and function. And, as far as can be judged, the leadership that persuaded the Board so to act came chiefly from Lloyd and a lay member named Stirling. Just before the meeting adjourned, the venerable Bishop of Albany

addressed Lloyd with great feeling, "For years I have sat in the chair where you are now sitting, and you sat here. I have had my doubts about some matters in connection with the reorganization and institution of the new Board, but I want to say, here and now, that this is the best and most remarkable meeting of this body which I have ever known. It is the Lord's work; I thank Him for it."

Bishop Doane took very little part in the work of the Board after this meeting because of failing health. When he died in May 17, 1913, Lloyd lost not only a beloved and trusted leader but one of his close friends. In later years, when asked by Dr. Richardson, Doane's biographer, what he regarded as the Bishop's chief contribution, he wrote: "In my judgment the greatest thing Bishop Doane ever did was convincing the American Church at the General Convention that it ought to support and help missions of this Church in Latin countries; . . . and I also question whether any man had more to do with helping the Board of Missions to realize that the foreign bishops had to be dealt with as human beings."

2.

During Lloyd's first term as President of the Board, the foreign missionary work of the Episcopal Church reached one of its peaks. In the three years, 1910-1913, 56 new missionaries were sent out, of whom 17 were replacements. Not a single fit volunteer was declined. Appropriations rose to approximately \$1,500,000. Valuable new properties were acquired, of which the most important were the additions to St. John's University, Shanghai, and St. Paul's College, Tokyo, enabling both those institutions to expand their activities. Some members of the Board began to talk of de-

veloping St. John's into "the Harvard of the Orient," — a phrase which greatly irked Lloyd because he always remembered that China had had its great cultural centers thousands of years before Harvard was founded, and one which led another Board member to inquire, "What's the matter with Yale?"

Many new mission stations were opened in the various fields. The work in Panama was taken over from the English Church, even though General Convention declined to assume responsibility for the whole of Central America. In the second triennium of this term, the expansion of the work was halted by conditions arising out of the European war. But a \$400,000 deficit was wiped out and over \$50,000 were added to the reserve fund by the "One Day's Income Plan." The promotional work at home grew in effectiveness. Co-operation with other Churches increased. The recession of the work that followed America's entry into the war was still in the future.

Great openings went by default. To take full advantage of the opportunities would need an average of 35 new missionaries a year. Volunteers were not forthcoming in such numbers; and even if they had been they could not all have been sent for lack of funds. Not that Churchmen had not the money. They had more than enough. Many of them became rich in the war boom. But only slightly over twenty per cent of them contributed anything to the work.

The fields that most occupied Lloyd's attentions during these years were China and Central America.

In 1912 occurred the revolution that swept away the Manchu government and created a republic centered in the Yangtse Valley, the area wherein all the Episcopal missions were located. Furthermore, it developed that an extraordi-

nary proportion of the leadership of the new movement was Christian. The provisional President, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the chairman of the committee of three appointed to draft the new constitution, two-thirds of the fifty delegates sent by the different provinces to Wuhu to plan the steps necessary for establishing a permanent republic, were Christians; so also were many subordinate officers in the armies and officials in the state. These men assured the missionaries of an opportunity to propagate their faith such as had never been enjoyed before. The Vice-President of the Republic testified to the importance he attached to the Church's activities by a gift of \$2000. And from many towns and villages came reports of Chinese crowding to the churches and begging for instruction. About a hundred miles north of Hankow, for example, where five years previously no work had been done at all, there were now 1181 people regularly receiving Christian instruction from Chinese Christians. But money was not the only need. Six lay teachers for St. John's and Boone, in addition to four men physicians and eight women workers, were regarded as a minimum for immediate needs. The responsibility for finding these recruits was laid upon the President and his secretaries.

The second thing in China that was much in Lloyd's mind throughout 1912 was the series of events culminating in the organization of "The Holy Catholic Church of China." For over a decade the English, American, and Canadian bishops of the Anglican communion in China had met to discuss common problems. The feeling had grown that all the Anglican dioceses ought to join to form a new province of the Anglican communion. Negotiations had proceeded between the leaders in China and between the home authorities. When a Constitution and Canons were perfected, and

when approval had been secured from the Boards in New York, Toronto, and London, a service was held at St. John's Pro-Cathedral, Shanghai, by which the missions of the English, American, and Canadian churches were finally and formally united to form the Holy Catholic Church of China.

It took several years to complete these negotiations. When its Synod was fully organized and met for the transaction of business in 1915, its first act was to constitute itself a Board of Missions, choose a section in the Province of Shensi some 600 miles west of Peking as its particular responsibility, and send some of its members thither as missionaries. That the first official act of the new Church was to send out missionaries seemed to Lloyd the greatest proof yet advanced that the men and women from America had succeeded in teaching their Chinese friends a true understanding of the Church's function. Perhaps the Chinese might be the agents to awaken the whole American Church to what the Lord expected of it. Few events in the field throughout his entire career evoked such profound thanksgiving.

The third Chinese problem that concerned Lloyd in 1912 remained a primary interest as long as he lived. One of the greatest hardships of foreign missionaries was the necessary separation from their children when the latter were sent to America for education. This was inevitable if the children were to go on to college, because in none of the fields were there schools that gave adequate preparation; and necessary if they were going to live and work in America. To Lloyd it seemed the great tragedy of missionary life. He was only less concerned for American Army and Navy officers and business men stationed in the Orient who faced the same separation. In February, 1912, he presented to his Board a plan

proposed by a group of men in China, and Mr. Robert E. Speer laid it before the Presbyterian Board. Both Boards approved it in principle and appointed a joint committee — consisting of Lloyd and Wood for the Episcopalians, Dr. White and Mr. Speer for the Presbyterians — to procure the needed funds.

The plan was to open a school at Kuling, a place about half way between Shanghai and Hankow, some 3000 feet above the sea level, to which many missionaries of both communions went for their summer vacations. A cottage was secured; two lay missionaries, one from each Church, were employed as teachers; a group representing the missionaries of the two communions were organized to give local supervision; and in the autumn the school began with sixteen pupils. Throughout his life the school was an enterprise very close to Lloyd's heart, and frequently he secured funds for its improvement and maintenance.

One incident showed that for all his rejoicing over what was happening, Lloyd had no illusions that everything in the Church there was perfect. When Thomas K. Nelson asked his advice about volunteering for the field, he answered: "I don't want you to go because of anybody's persuasion, not even mine. If you go to China you're going to find yourself up against all sorts of unsuspected difficulties and discouragements. If you've gone because you were convinced by your own thought and prayer that it was your duty, then you will be able to stick it through, but if you've gone because somebody overpersuaded you, you won't."

From China also came a question that raised a most difficult question of policy. Would the Board authorize President Pott of St. John's College to apply to the Rockefeller Foundation for a grant to his medical school? The Board gave him permission, but Lloyd dissented vehemently. To

ask the Rockefeller Foundation for a grant went against his whole missionary philosophy. Philanthropy was an essential *expression* of Christian faith; it was the duty of Christian men to exhibit the love of Christ in serving the needs of their fellows. But philanthropy was not the *primary* business of the Church. Its main function was to witness to the Revelation. Its constant danger was to invert the order of importance. While he had most profound respect for the Rockefeller Foundation and thought that its medical work in the Orient was one of the finest possible examples of serving human needs and that the Episcopal Church ought to help it whenever it possibly could, yet it was not the Church. It was a noble secular humanitarian agency. For a specifically Church institution to enter into partnership with a secular philanthropic one would inevitably result in conveying to the Chinese the impression that both institutions stood on the same footing and had the same basic function. It would blur the distinction between witnessing to the Revelation and philanthropy, between Christian faith and the works which express that faith but cannot long endure apart from that faith. To convey such a misapprehension would have dire spiritual results for the Chinese: it would make Christianity only a modified form of Confucianism; it would hide the vision and the power of the Gospel. "They know the full value already of philanthropic work. They have no idea that they are poor and naked and blind."

Lloyd also opposed the request for aid from the Foundation on the ground that the Church had undertaken to found and maintain St. John's, and that to seek help elsewhere that Church people were capable of giving would be to let them pass on to others burdens which they ought to bear, and by bearing which they would receive that spiritual

growth which comes from sacrificial service to the Master. He felt so strongly on both counts that he asked to have his opposition, and the reasons for it, recorded in full in the Board's minutes.

During the opening months of 1912 Lloyd visited the work in Mexico. Later in that same year a revolution broke out of such proportions that the Board felt compelled to authorize Bishop Aves to evacuate his staff whenever he felt it necessary. Diaz was overthrown and succeeded by Madeira. The latter was murdered less than two years later and followed by Huerta, who was forced to abdicate when the United States recognized his opponent Carranza. But this did not bring peace. Villa fought Carranza. Lloyd knew that one of the factors causing these disturbances was resentment at Americans and Britishers. Though these latter had contributed largely to the development of Mexico's resources, yet to many thoughtful Mexicans their work seemed more like industrial invasion and exploitation than a contribution to the nation's true progress. This made him sympathize with the liberal Madeira regime and support President Wilson's policy. But the Church had done little to help the Mexicans and nothing to offset the exploitation. Its responsibility was very great for proclaiming the Truth that alone would enable the Mexicans to attain the sort of society God desired them to have and to put at their disposal educational, medical, and scientific training.

During this long period of civil war, the lives of the missionaries were periodically endangered, and frequently they were cut off from communication. The only letter from Bishop Aves that reached "281" in the course of over half a year was two months in transit.

"An opportunity comes to send a line by a miner who starts today by saddle in an attempt to get out of the country — a hazardous undertaking as we are hemmed in on all sides.

"I am not permitted to say anything in this letter concerning the political situation or local conditions.

"I am as thoroughly cut off from the outside world as though it or I were in the moon; and from the little done I must perforce view the great undone, and wait and hope for the opportunity for broader work. I have received no mail for several months, and though I have entrusted several letters to you to persons attempting to get out of the country, you have probably received none of them."

Under such conditions it was impossible to determine from New York what should be done. Bishop Aves had to be given practically unlimited authority and the same amount set aside in the appropriations as in the year previous. Gradually the Carranza government eliminated the warring factions, and a period of peace and rebuilding seemed at hand. The Hooker School for Girls in Mexico was reopened. St. Andrews School at Guadalajara took on new life, the Bishop was free to travel around his district, and a number of churches and preaching stations were manned again.

Below Mexico lay Central America. The Church of England had had missionaries there for some time, working among the English business men and the Negroes. In 1912 it had asked the Episcopal Church to take over all its activities except that in British Honduras. Lloyd was delighted at the request, for he felt deeply that American Churches ought to be responsible for the work in their own hemisphere. A plan had been agreed upon by the Archbishop of the West Indies and the Presiding Bishop which Lloyd had supported in the Board of Missions, and when that body

recommended favorable action, he championed it in the House of Bishops at the General Convention of 1913. General Convention vetoed the plan chiefly because it felt unable to assume the additional expense.

Lloyd felt that for the Church, or any of its constituted agencies, to decline a missionary opportunity which was, so to speak, laid on its door-step came very near apostacy. "Does a board of missions exist for the purpose of presenting a clean balance sheet?" he had asked more than once. He, and those who thought as he did, refused to admit that the final word had been spoken about the responsibility of American Churchmen for Central America.

When General Convention met in 1916 the Panama Canal had been open for several years. It was not difficult to persuade the Convention of its responsibility for providing ministrations to the Americans stationed in the Zone. Later the Presiding Bishop was authorized to accept from the Church of England jurisdiction over the work it had been doing in Central America. Lloyd rejoiced. He thought this meant the beginning of vigorous work in Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, San Salvador, Spanish Honduras, and perhaps Guatemala. In order to get exact information about the state of the English missions, and consequently where the Americans ought to begin work and how to proceed, he sent the Educational Secretary, Dr. Arthur R. Gray, on a trip of inspection.

But in spite of the action of Convention and the very impressive report of Dr. Gray, no effort was made to push the work because of the stress under which the Church's finances came when the United States entered the First World War. A bishop was finally consecrated for the Canal Zone and

parts adjacent in 1920, but no work was undertaken in Central America.

The Mexican and Chinese civil wars and the difficulties they brought to missionary work forced Lloyd to think much about the relations of missionaries to the authorities of the country to which they went. From the point of view of law, governments had complete control in their countries. They alone could determine what was permissible within their boundaries. The right to engage in Christian propaganda was a legal right which might or might not be granted by a government, but it was not a moral or spiritual right which all governments *must* recognize. A government had as much right to prohibit Christian teaching as Mormon or Marxist. However, it might be a moral and spiritual duty upon the missionaries to attempt the proclamation of the Gospel in the face of governmental prohibition and to pay the penalties of fine, imprisonment, or even death which might result. Though missionaries were fully justified in taking advantage of such legal rights as governments granted them, they were entirely unjustified in seeking for special privileges and for protection from their home authorities when they violated the decrees of the country where they resided.

It must be stressed that though foreign fields raised the most dramatic questions, the development of the work in the missionary districts within the United States seemed to Lloyd quite as important. He always insisted that there was but one field, the world. In order to secure a better quality of men and a more permanent staff, the two chief needs in the domestic districts, he urged General Convention in 1913 to authorize the Board to increase the minimum salary for those areas and to insist on at least a three-year term of service.

3.

Lloyd's new powers deepened his responsibilities. He had to see that adequate promotion was done and the funds raised. This involved for him even more letters and articles than before, though other duties in the office prevented his doing as much traveling as in the first few years. As head of the Board of Strategy, charged with devising long-range policies and either approving or disapproving the methods by which the bishops in the field wanted to adapt them to rapidly changing conditions, he had to give as much time as possible to study and to correspondence with the leaders. He had also to attend to many matters of administrative detail. Bishops asked that more fire insurance be taken out: did the rates justify this? They asked permission to mortgage property in order to secure money for needed buildings: should he advise the Board that the risk was not too great? To be sure, much of this was done by Mr. Wood.

Lloyd was responsible also for securing new recruits; and though most of them were enlisted by others — notably the two student secretaries, Mr. Gravatt and Miss Goodwin — yet he had to have personal interviews with the volunteers before passing on them, and actually he won not a few himself. The effectiveness with which the staff worked at home and abroad was his problem. To further this he added Dr. Gray to the force at "281" as Educational Secretary and later changed his duties to supervision of the work in Latin America. He secured the services of Mr. Robert Patton and supported his experiments in the fourth department. He convened regular meetings of all the departmental secretaries that they might exchange ideas as to how they could better discharge their common tasks and learn of the latest

developments in the Board's policies and that they might have an opportunity to discuss with him individually their own private problems. He also led them in extended periods of Bible study, meditation, and prayer. Though the various bishops had the primary responsibility for the men and women working in the different missionary districts, yet his pastoral activities among them were as large as ever.

The most significant thing Lloyd attempted as an executive during this period was to free the missionary bishops from some of their burdens.

In all communions there has arisen from time to time a certain amount of friction between the governing bodies at home and the responsible leaders in various fields. One fruitful source of it has been the matter of reports. This question caused Lloyd a great deal of bother.

Most of the bishops were doing at least two men's work and, in the press of other business, sent in reports to "281" that were, to say the least, sketchy. The secretaries in New York who had to keep track of everything that was being done in the fields and of how every penny was spent, constantly asked Lloyd to write for more exact details. When such sketchy reports were presented to the Board, the members, especially the laymen, were annoyed, insisted on fuller information, and admonished the bishops to be more business-like. The bishops, preoccupied with their problems and usually trying to make bricks without straw, thought this "the fuss and red tape of a petty-minded bureaucracy" and that it distracted them from their job of seeing that the Gospel was proclaimed by word and deed.

Lloyd was in the unhappy position of a man who thinks that there is much to be said on both sides. He wanted full and precise information as much as any member of the

Board, for contributors had a right to know how their gifts were being spent. On the other hand, he was keenly aware of the burdens under which the bishops staggered, and he agreed with them that their job was to be evangelists and pastors rather than bookkeepers. Increasingly, he espoused their side. To free them from what was a secretarial job he tried to persuade the Board to furnish them with adequate office help.

But far more important was the question of the relative powers of the bishops and the Board. This was coming up constantly. It was raised in acute form by a memorandum sent to New York in 1916 by all the bishops in the Orient — Brent of the Philippines, Graves of Shanghai, Roots of Hankow, Huntington of Anking, McKim of Tokyo, and Tucker of Kyoto. Lloyd studied it carefully and laid it before the Board. When the bishops were in America for General Convention that autumn the Board went over it with them in detail.

The bishops had two premises. First, that "in matters pertaining to local administration it should be remembered that Boards are amateurs, the missionaries experts. . . . Trying to handle foreign affairs from a home office and doing things which please the home constituency is . . . the essence of Papacy." Second, that in "all that pertains to government we must remember that . . . we are irrevocably Episcopal. Even as no bishop or group of priests has a right to interfere in the internal administration of any diocese, so neither has the Board — which consists of a group of bishops, priests, and laymen — any right to give orders to a missionary bishop about his jurisdiction. To do so is the essence of Protestant polity." They went on to argue that efforts of the Board to override the full authority of bishops had done great harm,

citing numerous specific examples, and suggesting that the Board's true position was that of a board of supply, not of control. It ought to raise funds, disseminate information, ("keeping a secretary with literary ability always in the fields as, so to speak, a war correspondent"), secure the best type of men and women for missionaries, and act in advisory capacity when the missionaries requested counsel. It ought to support the bishops in their work, even though they inevitably made mistakes; and if any bishop proved himself a failure he ought to be removed. Above all it was imperative that "no existing rules and regulations relative to missions, missionaries, and their management go unchallenged. They must be constantly appraised to see whether they are now promoting or hindering the end for which they were originally made."

Some members of the Board vigorously opposed the bishops, especially the laymen whose principal spokesman was Mr. Stirling of Chicago. If a bishop started an undertaking and raised the funds for it, as Bishop Brent had done, he might die, or the friends who were contributing to him might die, and then the Board would have to assume financial responsibility. For that reason, he insisted that no bishop could be allowed to initiate any new enterprise without explicit sanction from the Board. Again, the Board was not simply a supply organization. It was a trustee. People gave money for specific undertakings, and the Board was responsible that those funds should be used for the designated purposes and for nothing else. The Board was also the official agency of the whole Church for the general oversight of all missionary work. As such it was responsible for the allocation of funds in the most strategic manner. To discharge this responsibility it had to have a veto over the use of money by

the bishops, so that if one of them purposed to use his appropriations for something of less relative importance than an undertaking suggested by another the appropriation originally designed for the former might be shifted to the latter. While disclaiming any desire to interfere in matters of administrative detail or in the exercise of discipline, the spokesmen of this group insisted that the Board should have a veto over the policies of the bishops and over their use of funds.

Lloyd agreed strongly with the bishops on the whole, though in some points he dissented from them. He thoroughly agreed with the bishops' contention that a man ought to be sent out and left free to do his work, subject to recall if he were incompetent. He was confident that the Board had no right to interfere in internal administration or to veto policies, though he thought that any new departures ought to be made only after consultation with the Board, for the Board had to be able to justify such policies if it was to be able to raise funds for their support. While agreeing that the Board had to see to it that the money contributed for general expenses was allotted as strategically as possible, he thought this responsibility ought to be discharged by allocating to the various bishops different lump sums; but that to require a bishop to return any money not used exactly as the schedule specified, instead of being permitted to save on some items of his work and use the savings for others, was unwarranted interference. He did agree with the laymen that when funds were given for specified purposes they had to be used only for those purposes; and that, to insure that being done, the Board ought to keep such funds in a separate account until the projects were actually undertaken. Gradually others from both camps approximated his position.

The final result of the correspondence and of the two-day

conference was that both parties came to understand each other better, and agreed upon the general principles that in the future no bishop should begin building or purchase land involving the Board in expense without consulting the Board and furnishing full information about his general plans, and that the methods of putting them into effect should be locally determined.

This general principle has remained in force ever since, but its application has varied. As long as Lloyd remained President of the Board the bishops in the field felt that they were allowed the maximum initiative and independence. In some subsequent administrations they have been aware of efforts to control them much more rigidly from central headquarters.

It seems fair to surmise that Lloyd's support of the missionary bishops was due to various things. He was a bishop himself and keen for the episcopal principle. He realized some of the difficulties in the fields; he knew that often personal factors made necessary expedients which to people in America, not fully aware of the situation, might seem ill-advised. He understood the spiritual suffering the bishops inevitably met as they realized how little they could do of all that should be done, and he wanted to avoid increasing their burdens.

But this principle carried a corollary of the soundness of which Lloyd grew increasingly confident: that it was wrong policy to send out a missionary bishop for life without any provision for his recall unless he violated the doctrine, discipline or worship of the Church. He thought it was inevitable that some men would be elected bishops who were incompetent administrators; and he knew that no matter how impeccable their characters the work would suffer under

them. Inefficient leadership in the Church should be replaced as rapidly as in other lines of activity; even more so, because its work was more important. Though episcopal *Orders* were permanent, there was no doctrinal or ecclesiastical principle requiring that episcopal *jurisdiction* be also. Though the democratic principle permitted the delegation of very wide powers to administrators elected by the many, it also required that these administrators be subject to recall if they proved incompetent or if they used their powers for purposes of which the many disapproved. Lloyd never went so far as to urge any specific plan upon the Church, such as electing missionary bishops for a limited term of office or providing machinery for recalling incompetents. He knew there was no chance of its adoption. Therefore he confined himself to stating his conviction from time to time that here was a problem which must be grappled with.

Next in importance to his efforts on behalf of the bishops was Lloyd's persuading the Board to hold at least one meeting a year in some city other than New York, such as Indianapolis or Chicago, and to open all its regular sessions to the public. These steps helped to dramatize the fact that the Board had no special relation to the diocese of New York or the Eastern seaboard but was the agent of the whole Church, equally concerned for and responsible to every diocese in the land, as much a western as an eastern affair, and that every Churchman had a right to know what it was doing and why. They were also efforts to impress upon the imagination of Episcopalians that, no matter whether they lived in California or Louisiana or Maine, they belonged to no local organization but to a body that included people of every place, age, and sex, and that had world-wide respon-

sibilities. It turned out that in whatever diocese the Board met there was a quick and marked increase in the interest in missions as a result of the close contact with the men responsible for administering the enterprise.

4.

During this term of Lloyd's presidency his services to the Church were recognized by many individuals and institutions. The University of the South, for example, conferred upon him its doctorate in Divinity in 1915. But during this same term the opposition to him gained strength. It had existed to some extent from the time he first went to New York, and his action in regard to the Panama Congress, which will be considered in the next chapter, added to it. It broke out vigorously at the General Convention of 1916. At a joint session of both houses when the financial difficulties of the year 1915 and the subsequent wiping out of the deficit were under discussion, Bishop Hall of Vermont said that he thought the President of the Board was receiving a salary out of all proportion to what was given the men in the field. This remark seemed to mean that Lloyd was more concerned for himself than for the missionaries. In view of his constant pleas for more adequate salaries and equipment for missionaries, to be charged with accepting a salary entirely disproportionate to theirs was tantamount to being accused of hypocrisy. Bishop Hall went on to attack Lloyd's entire administration as inefficient and as favoring the Evangelicals at the expense of the Catholic wing. A few other men spoke to the same general effect.

As soon as the attack on him began, Lloyd, who had been

sitting in the background on one side of the platform, moved to the front. He smiled cordially at those who criticized his work and gave no indication of how he felt. But his closest friends thought he suffered more acutely than he had ever done, for sincerity and fair play were two things he thought essential to manhood, let alone to Christian character. He made no effort to reply, thinking, as always, that if he had done right he would eventually be vindicated and if he had done wrong he deserved what he got. But his friends would not keep still. Mr. Pepper replied spiritedly that the Bishop of Vermont was mistaken both in his facts and his deductions; others defended the salary Lloyd received as being necessary for the work he had to do; still others argued that the Board had shown no favoritism to any group within the Church, and that if more money went to support Evangelical missionaries than Catholic it was because there were more of the former. Lloyd's only comment during the proceedings was an aside, "Poor old Bishop Hall. How hard Pepper was on him."

Lloyd's six-year term as President of the Board expired at this Convention, and shortly after the joint session the time came for the election of another president. His was the only name put forward by the nominating committee, but several others were presented from the floor. He was given a majority of all the votes cast and was re-elected. Though the number of votes for other men showed that there was strong opposition to him, that caused him no distress at all. Every man had a right to prefer policies other than those he advocated. But the charges made at the joint session were not so easily disregarded.

5.

During this same six-year term of office there were three weddings in his family which brought Lloyd intense satisfaction. On October 1, 1912, Elizabeth married Charles J. Symington, a New York business man; on June 30, 1913, Gay married Churchill J. Gibson, son of the Bishop of Virginia, a clergyman in charge of a number of stations in the Blue Ridge mountains, having his home in Luray; and on February 21, 1914, Rebecca married Gavin Hadden, an engineer who lived in New York. The Lloyds were very happy over their daughters, for they genuinely admired and loved their sons-in-law.

They were also deeply gratified by their son John. The Bishop had been so afraid that he might over-influence him toward the ministry that on his graduation from the University of Virginia he had dissuaded him from entering the Seminary, preferring that if he should become a clergyman he should do so after having had a taste of some other sort of work. John accepted a teaching post at Pomfret School. But that experience deepened his conviction that the priesthood was his calling. Lloyd was more than glad when his son began his studies at Alexandria.

Chapter VIII

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

IN AUGUST, 1914, the First World War began. It had effect, direct and indirect, on practically every phase of Lloyd's life, and when the United States became a combatant in April, 1917, its impact upon him greatly increased. The conflict forced him to think through the questions of pacifism, of evil, of God's activity in history; it deepened his sense of the urgency of the Church's mission and redoubled his difficulties as a missionary administrator; it increased his concern and his labors for Church unity; it brought him and his sons-in-law into personal danger.

I.

When the war broke out, Lloyd regarded it as a cataclysm which exploded the accepted theories about the meaning of life and the right ordering of society. The materialism that pervaded so-called Christian civilization was unmasked. Though the order of society in the early 1900's was the best man had ever known and had many splendid elements, yet now it was plain that its values had been chiefly wealth, power, and security. God would not permit this pursuit of false goals to succeed even when they were meretriciously arrayed in the garments of religion. Therefore, He had permitted mankind to bring catastrophe upon itself. Not that God willed suffering for men. All His efforts were to show them the way to their true destiny and to help them overcome

the obstacles in the way. But if they would not accept the Revelation of their possibilities and the way to attain them, they must accept the consequences of their folly.

Lloyd thought for several months that this unmasking of evil would clear men's minds of some of the prejudices which had prevented them from accepting the Revelation, and that tragedy might turn them to the Gospel. But gradually he doubted whether men would learn the way out of such calamities as they had brought upon themselves. He feared that they would fall into the error of thinking that evil could be remedied by force and legislation, and that they would fail to grasp that mankind was so interdependent that no stable society could be built on any other basis than justice for all, and that human beings had in them so much of ignorance, folly, and self-will that there was no chance of universal justice unless they were reborn as children of God and came under the control of His Spirit. One of his last comments on the war was, "The greatest question confronting mankind today is whether the misery of our time will be followed by other and greater distresses." Only as the Church was reborn in the furnace, enkindled with its first vision and enabled to lead the world to Christ would the future be better than the past.

But though the war was the unmasking of the rotten elements in Western civilization and the inevitable result of disregarding God's revelation, this did not mean that both sides were equally evil. Lloyd grew increasingly sure that the Allies were fighting on the side of liberty and justice, and that they were completely justified in struggling to prevent a German world tyranny. Therefore, he rejoiced in the victories at the Marne and Jutland. When it began to look as though the Germans might possibly win, or at least achieve

a stalemate, unless the United States swung the balance, he espoused American intervention. He was unwilling to advocate young men sacrificing their lives while he was immune from their risks, and, therefore, when ex-President Theodore Roosevelt set out to raise a division for overseas service Lloyd volunteered as chaplain. He was deeply disappointed to learn that there was no chance for a man of his age and delicate health to be accepted in any military organization.

The issue of pacifism was forced acutely upon Lloyd by a difficult case brought before the House of Bishops.

Bishop Jones of Utah was a convinced pacifist. He felt that to take part in war was to violate the commands of Christ. Its whole method and purpose were in such complete contradiction to the way of Christ that one could not serve Christian ends by it. The plea that the Allies had been forced into the role of an international police force he thought sheer sophistry. Its root causes were economic and imperial rivalries, and the Allies were trying to protect and advance their own political and economic interests quite as much as were the Central Powers. If they won, the settlement would not be based on considerations of justice but of their own advantage. He let his sentiments become known, spoke at a mass meeting in Salt Lake City called to prevent the entrance of the United States into the conflict, and expressed sympathy with opponents of the draft law.

Utah was swept by the war fever. Many of the communicants of the Episcopal Church grew increasingly vexed at their Bishop's position. It seemed to them that his expressions identified the Church with the unpatriotic elements in the country, brought it into disfavor with the inhabitants of Utah, militated against its growth and usefulness, and caused communicants to join other communions. They asked him, if

he could not see his way to change his views, or to keep quiet about them. The Bishop declined, on the ground that if he did so he would be failing in his obligation to counsel his communicants about their duty as Christians. The Council of Advice then asked him to resign and also notified the Presiding Bishop that in their judgment the interests of the Episcopal Church in Utah demanded that his connection with it be terminated as soon as possible. Since Utah was a missionary district they also informed Lloyd about the matter, asking him to stop at Salt Lake City for a conference on his way to a meeting of the Provincial Synod at Boise.

Lloyd had very high regard for Bishop Jones, writing of him, "The man is fine; there never was a cleaner-minded man, or one with more single purpose for what is right and for what he believes is Christian." While he was convinced that Jones' pacifism was due to his belief that Christianity demanded such a course, the latter's analysis of the causes of the war and of the Allies' responsibility for it seemed to him faulty, and his contention that the Allied victory would bring as much harm to the world as that of the Germans appeared to him nonsense. Jones' insistence that to take part in it was to violate Christ's command struck him as beside the point. God willed that men should love one another, but He willed equally that they should be just and that they should be free. To maintain the latter was as obligatory as to practice the former; in fact, to preserve men's freedom was an expression of love. The world was evil; most men were still on the sub-human level. At the moment the forces of evil were threatening all the advances that had been made in the painful human struggle for liberty and justice. Not to fight was to insure the victory of tyranny and barbarism. To go to war Lloyd thought was a terrible evil, but it was the least evil

course open. He tried to persuade Bishop Jones and prayed steadily for him, but did not succeed in altering his views.

A special session of the House of Bishops met at Chicago on October 17, 1917. To this meeting the Council of Advice of Utah sent a copy of its letter to Bishop Jones in which it had urged him to resign. He asked the advice of the House. The Presiding Bishop appointed a special committee of three to go into the whole matter in minute detail, Lloyd being one of the members.

Before the affair was settled Lloyd had to leave for Liberia but regretfully agreed with the final outcome. When the reconstituted committee reported that Bishop Jones' usefulness in Utah had been seriously impaired by his pacifist activities and speeches, he resigned his jurisdiction. The committee refrained from pronouncing on the rightness or wrongness of his views. Its report seemed to some bishops an attempt to muzzle one of their number, and consequently the House refused to accept it or the resignation based upon it, affirming that a bishop had as much right to express his opinions publicly as any other citizen. Bishop Jones then resigned again, this time without assigning any reasons, and the House accepted it.

2.

The responsibility of the American Churches loomed steadily larger in Lloyd's mind. During the period of American neutrality every one of the Episcopal missions suffered as a result of the rising rate of exchange and the difficulties of transporting missionaries and supplies. But their difficulties were as nothing compared to the work under British and Continental Boards, for the latter's supplies of money and men were terribly diminished. The more European wealth

and manpower were consumed in the war, the more Lloyd pled with Americans to assume responsibility for other areas than their own. What Europeans could not do, Americans must. Upon Episcopalians he urged especially the duty of supporting the work of the Church of England. As he became convinced that only a widespread turning to Christ could prevent the war's outcome from being worse than its cause, he called upon Churchmen to witness to their Master with more energy and on a larger scale than ever before. They must give all they could to the government and to relief agencies like the Red Cross; they must oppose efforts to repeal social legislation under the excuse of a national emergency. If they failed to do these things they would violate the Second Commandment. But unless they led their fellowmen to the Christ they would violate the First, and also would fail to give the help their fellows most deeply needed. Therefore, they should contribute *more* to the Church than before. When people objected that such gifts to the Church, in addition to their contributions to relief agencies and their mounting taxes, would leave them nothing for themselves, he answered, "Of course not. You have no right to keep anything for yourself in such a time as this."

Gifts to the Church would make possible more work in the camps, as well as the maintenance of the activities overseas and at home; but also they would be a type of witness, for "among ordinary mortals the witness that is most readily accepted at its face value is that to which men devote their possessions." But he steadily warned people not to get their values mixed. Faith and witness were paramount; gifts of money were important as expressions thereof. Above all he cautioned against glibly asserting that only Christianity could save the world, for nothing was more irreverent and flippant

than high-sounding declarations with which the life of the speakers were out of harmony. And also, he told people with increasing urgency that in the midst of activity made more fevered by the excitement of the times they could only maintain their faith and witness if they found the peace which came from daily and hourly communion with the Christ in prayer and sacrament. Worship, private and corporate, was never other than essential for Christians; the added strains of war made any life worthy the name impossible without it.

In proportion as Lloyd grew sure that the world could be saved further horrors only if the Church persuaded it to accept Christ as Master, he questioned more deeply its adequacy for the task without a complete rebirth. It labored under three great defects. Relatively few people knew what it was for. Christ founded it to witness to the Father; it existed to be a working body, to take the place of His physical body. But most people regarded it as society wherein they acquired privileges for this life and the future. Closely akin to this was the defect of individualism. The Christian society was an organism with the right to exercise authority over its members; people regarded it as a voluntary association in which they did as they pleased. He wished that the Body might draft its members for the service they were competent to render, picking for the ministry and the mission-field, for medicine and teaching, those who had the requisite gifts rather than telling the individual to do as he desired. This individualism meant, further, that the Church was in fact an oligarchy rather than a true fellowship and democracy. So few people felt any sense of responsibility for the Body as a whole that they left its affairs to be controlled by the bishops and clergy. The third great defect was lack of unity. Differ-

ent communions repeating different war cries, formulating the faith and ethic in varying ways, confused and nearly nullified its witness, and vitiated its efforts to affect society. He asked himself increasingly what steps could be taken to awaken and unify the Church, and to organize it in such fashion as to make it adequate to its task.

The most obvious step within his power was teaching. So a renewed emphasis on the *organic* nature of the Church and of society appeared in Lloyd's preaching and writing. Neither the nation nor the Church was a voluntary association. Both antedated the individual; both were greater than he; both were units of which he was a part and to which he owed obedience. Constructive criticism was necessary and revolt occasionally became a tragic duty, but individualistic pursuit of one's preferences against the will of the whole was damnable. Men were bound to each other inextricably, and to be an individualist militated against the effectiveness of one's service to the whole. Furthermore, no person by himself could realize the full possibilities disclosed in Revelation. That could be done only by mankind as a whole. The individual attained his highest only through struggling against such things as Christ opposed—things alien to perfect manhood and therefore abnormal—yet he never struggled as a solitary but always as part of a larger whole, and his final fulfilment came as the whole body was made over in the likeness of Christ. In the time before that consummation was reached the Church was that segment of mankind which responded to the Christ, represented Him, and by His Spirit was being sanctified. The individual Christian was dependent upon it for teaching, fellowship, and sacrament; his growth toward Christ was conditioned upon its spiritual temper, except in the case of the few rare saints who some-

how were less dependent upon it than most men. Its effectiveness in its appointed task depended on the united efforts of all its members. So did its fulfilment, for it could not fully possess the blessings Christ revealed until the whole family received the good news.

This growing stress on the organic nature of the Church made him revise his views of Protestantism and Catholicism. The term Protestant became increasingly distasteful to him, because it seemed to stress a negative while he wanted to put all the emphasis on the positive proclamation of the Gospel. "I don't want to have to explain something or other every time the Pope blows his nose. I want to preach the Gospel all the time," he wrote a friend. Yet he valued increasingly what the Reformation had accomplished, which seemed to him to be the liberation of men from the tyranny of an ecclesiastical system and of the dogmatic definitions of a particular era. He regarded the genius of Anglicanism to be that it preserved the freedom of the Reformation in both these respects and also the ancient orders and sacraments. That being so, it ought to maintain closest coöperation with the Protestants who had the freedom, and with Greece and Rome who had the ancient sacraments. But he was chary of becoming in any way tied to the latter lest it subtly reinfect Anglicanism with its tyranny. In fact, as he became more Catholic, he also became more anti-Roman.

But the Church's witness and men's struggle against evil often seemed futile. The war accentuated that line of thought. To meet it Lloyd pointed men to the Resurrection. Christ's career recapitulated humanity's. He confronted the very forces that had again overwhelmed the world and became their victim in order to destroy their dominion over men. He rose from the dead, victorious over them. And as

His resurrection was the basis of hope that man's frustrations were not permanent, so His Cross and teachings were their assurance that God sympathized with them, suffered at and in their agony, and was swift to comfort those who waited upon Him.

3.

Beside trying to teach the true organic nature of mankind and the Church, Lloyd worked steadily for Church unity. In 1912 he had tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Board to take part in an united missionary campaign. Part of the opposition to his plea was based on the conviction that there had been too many campaigns, and part of it on the feeling that to become involved in such an interdenominational enterprise would blur the catholicity of the Episcopal Church. This feeling was increased by the invitation extended by two Anglican bishops at Kikuyu in Africa to members of other Churches to join with them in a service of Holy Communion. This action aroused a storm of protest by the Anglo-Catholics in both England and America, and increased the apprehensions of the American ones that Lloyd and his fellow Evangelicals would lead the Episcopal Church into a purely Protestant position.

In 1913 Lloyd was sent to the Hague to represent the Board at the meeting of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference. This meeting deepened his conviction that disunity was the chief obstacle to effective missionary work, that it was due chiefly to men's thinking that their partial apprehensions of the truth were the whole truth and their formulations the only correct ones, and that the Episcopal Church had an opportunity equalled by

no other Church to do effective missionary work and to forward the cause of reunion. Its unique position was due to the fact that it was unhindered by the political relations that caused difficulties for all established Churches in their work in the Orient, or by the local traditions that prevented most Protestant Churches from adapting themselves to new environments, or by the ecclesiastical bondage Rome enforced which deprived men of the liberty which Christ intended. "Free, it may give itself untrammelled to the Cause on which human development depends. Catholic, it preserves for all who love the Truth that Order which is the witness to the Resurrection and the Sacraments without which man's efforts must fail." His attendance at the annual meetings of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America reinforced these views. The crisis caused by the war decided him to do whatever he could to lead the Episcopal Church into action that made for unity. One particular effort involved him in the most serious controversy of his career. The Panama Congress was the cause of so much misunderstanding that the story must be told in full.

An invitation was addressed to the Board to send delegates to a Congress representing all bodies supporting work in Latin America, to be held in Panama during the winter of 1916. The official bulletin accompanying the invitation specified that the purpose of the gathering was not *legislation*, either on ecclesiastical questions or matters of missionary policy, but for fact finding and consultation; that its spirit was to be neither critical of nor antagonistic to any religious body but appreciative of all elements of truth and goodness; that invitations were to be sent to "all communions or organizations which accept Jesus Christ as Divine Saviour and Lord, and the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testa-

ments as the Revealed Word of God, and whose purpose is to make the will of Christ prevail in Latin America."

The Executive Committee recommended to the Board, at its meeting in February, 1915, that the invitation be accepted and that the officers be authorized to serve on the committees preparing for the Congress. Opposition was expressed at once on two grounds. Some members felt the Episcopal Church ought not to participate in any meetings at which the Church of Rome was not represented. To do so would be to recognize the Episcopal as a Protestant rather than a Catholic Church. Though Rome had been invited to Panama, they felt certain she would decline. Furthermore, they argued that at the end of the last General Convention a resolution had passed the Deputies authorizing the Board to coöperate with other Boards in interdenominational gatherings but had not been acted on by the House of Bishops in the rush of the last two days. This failure they regarded as a complete prohibition. By a vote of thirteen to eleven the Board tabled the motion to send delegates to Panama.

This action deeply disappointed Lloyd. To some of the missionary bishops in Latin America, who felt the need of consultation and closer coöperation with the missionaries of other communions in order to offset the indifference and opposition to Christianity, it seemed disastrous. They wrote urging that the matter be reconsidered. Under the leadership of Lloyd and Mr. George Wharton Pepper the Board in May rescinded its action of February and authorized its officers to take part in the preparatory work of the Congress. During the summer Lloyd and others worked hard on various committees. Dr. Speer recorded his view that no one was more helpful in this work than Lloyd.

The Church press then took the matter up. *The Living Church*, organ of the Catholic wing, vehemently opposed any participation in the Congress. It argued that the temper of the meeting would be strongly anti-Roman and therefore harmful to eventual reunion; that the Board had no right to take part in view of the failure of the last General Convention explicitly to authorize it to share in such gatherings; and that for the Board to enter such an enterprise when a considerable section of its constituency opposed it was sure to exacerbate the differences of viewpoint within the Church. Papers of other views advocated attendance at Panama for precisely the opposite reasons. With his hatred of controversies, Lloyd terribly regretted that such strong partisan feeling was engendered over this proposal. But he felt an absolutely vital principle of missionary work was at stake, and, therefore, he resolved to press the issue no matter how vehement the opposition.

When the Board met in October Lloyd asked authority to appoint a committee to nominate delegates. Dr. Manning offered a resolution to rescind the action taken in May and reaffirm that taken in February. When the vote was finally taken after a seven-hour debate, Dr. Manning's resolution was defeated 26 to 13. While the votes did not follow strict party lines—several Evangelicals supporting Dr. Manning and at least two High-Churchmen siding with Lloyd—yet it was true that most High-Churchmen opposed sending any delegates and most of the others favored it. As soon as the result was announced the Bishops of Fond du Lac, Marquette, and Washington, in addition to Drs. Manning and Delaney, resigned. The Bishop of Washington and Dr. Manning were subsequently re-elected to the Board and accepted membership on it.

The delegates came equally from South and North America and the Congress turned out to be not at all anti-Roman. Before it opened its leaders established cordial relations with the Roman Bishop of Panama, and when a few individuals introduced resolutions fixing the blame for the deplorable conditions in Latin America on the Roman Church, they persuaded them to withdraw their motions.

Lloyd attended the Congress with great pleasure, though a sudden swelling in one foot caused him acute pain and forced him into a hospital for a few days. The gathering seemed to him unqualifiedly useful. It brought together the largest body of expert knowledge on the religious conditions, needs, and opportunities of Latin America that had ever been assembled. It showed that whilst the Roman Church had done much good work, it by no means provided adequately for the pastoral care of the people and it was entirely unable to cope with the rapidly increasing vogue of Positivism, Materialism, and Atheism among the educated classes, for the people of culture who had been born in the Roman Communion showed a marked tendency to lapse into complete indifference to the theology, ethics, and worship of Christianity. By making crystal clear that none but people of the highest moral and intellectual caliber were of any use, Lloyd thought it would be an important factor in raising the general level of the personnel of all the missions. By enabling each group to learn what the others were doing and what methods were useful, it helped each to improve its own work and cleared the way for closer collaboration, especially in educational and literary work. Above all, in his own words, "It may safely be said that hereafter none will go into Latin America with the idea that God's Kingdom can be advanced by the denunciation of others."

For his part in persuading the Board to send delegates to Panama in the face of strong opposition, for his attending the Congress and for his championship of the principle of closest coöperation with all missionary bodies—which meant, in practice with the Protestants—Lloyd was severely censured by most of the Catholic wing of the Church. To them he seemed disposed to lead it into a pan-Protestant union which would jeopardize its catholicity and be a severe, if not insuperable, barrier to reunion with the Orthodox as well as the Roman Churches. It caused not a few of them to distrust his leadership profoundly and to take counsel how they might put someone else in his place when his term as President of the Board expired in the fall of 1916.

4.

During the war period Lloyd continued to travel around the United States as before. In addition to his trip to Panama he visited two of the fields outside of the United States, Puerto Rico and Liberia.

The trip to Puerto Rico was uneventful. He inspected the work at San Juan, Ponce, and Mayagüez in addition to most of the country stations. What pleased him most was the industrial and agricultural school Bishop Colmore had begun at El Coto. Every planter was adding to his acreage of sugar, coffee, and tobacco because the prices of these commodities had risen greatly, to the neglect of food crops. The Church's efforts to teach the natives how to make better provision for their own needs on the small quantity of ground at their disposal struck him as an example of the sort of service the Master's spirit engendered. To the missionaries he gave of himself without stint, bringing the cheer and courage that intelligent sympathy conveys often without words. To the

congregations he spoke simply and affectionately. It is reported that after a long conference with the bishop and staff at Ponce he disappeared and was found shortly with a group of children, none of whom understood his language nor he theirs, laughing and playing games.

Bishop Ferguson of Liberia died in August, 1916, after a thirty-one-year episcopate. After his death reports kept coming back to the Board that all was not well in that district. Before selecting a successor the Board felt the need of more definite information on the situation there, and particularly on whether he should be another Negro. Accordingly, it was decided to send to Liberia a bishop accompanied by a priest and if possible a layman, to administer the district during his stay, make a complete survey of the conditions, methods, prospects, and needs, and recommend to the Board its future policy. Several men were invited to make the trip but were unable to do so. In the autumn of 1917 Lloyd was asked if he would go, accompanied by Archdeacon Schofield of Denver. He agreed at once to do so and arranged to have John Wood take over his duties at "281" during his absence. At the time he was in such bad physical condition that he refused to be examined by a physician before sailing because he knew the doctor would order him not to go.

Lloyd sailed for Liberia about the same time that his son John sailed with the army for France. Having them both go overseas was not pleasant for Mrs. Lloyd, but when a thoughtless friend, trying to console her, said that it seemed all wrong for her husband to go on a Church job into the dangers of the war zone, Mrs. Lloyd flashed back, "If my son goes to France to serve his country, why shouldn't my husband go to Liberia to serve his Church?"

Lloyd and Schofield sailed for Liverpool on November

24th, on the same ship with Bishop Brent, who had been appointed Chaplain-General of the American Expeditionary Force. When they reached England they learned that no ship was sailing for Liberia until December 22nd. Ambassador Page obtained permission for them to go to France in the interim.

In France they visited the principal American base at Brest, a number of stations near Paris, and one sector near the front; they were taken over part of the territory where the first battle of the Marne was fought; they went to military hospitals and also to what were euphemistically called "rest camps." Wherever he went, Lloyd's tremendous concern for young men, his complete sincerity, and his complete trust in his Lord drew soldiers to him as previously those same qualities had attracted them in Norfolk. He returned to London favorably impressed on the whole with what he had seen being done for the spiritual welfare of the thousands of young men living under the unnatural conditions of war, and still more deeply struck by the desire of soldiers to talk to him and to the chaplains about the Christian faith. Though some of the chaplains seemed to him inadequate for their task, yet most of them seemed to be effective. He also thought well of the Y.M.C.A.

They sailed from England in a convoy on December 22nd. After a three-day stop at Freetown, capital of the British Colony of Sierra Leone, their ship had gone about fifty miles when a German submarine came to the surface and attacked them. They were under fire for nearly three-quarters of an hour but were not hit. The approach of a British destroyer forced the submarine to submerge and depart to healthier hunting-grounds. Lloyd wrote home that throughout this period he was greatly comforted by the knowledge that his

ship had a cargo of dynamite and that therefore there was no possibility of his having to float about in icy waters if his ship was sunk.

They reached Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, on January 18, 1918, and spent four days there, including a Sunday on which Lloyd preached at a service attended by the President of the Republic, his cabinet, and most of the legislature. Then they went 250 miles down the coast by motor launch to Cape Palmas, a town of about 2,500 people, where most of the work of the Episcopal Church was centered. While there they were the guests of Chief Justice Dossan, a communicant of the Church and son-in-law of Bishop Ferguson. They visited eleven stations in this neighborhood, going to some by canoe, to others in hammocks carried by four men apiece, to others afoot. They were depressed to find how much damage had been done in the uprising of one of the tribes a few years earlier not only to the Church property—much of which was destroyed—but to the population of the area. But equally they were cheered at the courage with which the surviving Christians had held together and carried on with no resources whatsoever. They then worked their way back up the coast to the extreme northern boundary of the country at Cape Mount, visiting half a dozen stations on the way, and ended their visitation by another week at Monrovia, during which they exchanged calls with the President and Lloyd received the degree of Doctor of Civil Law from the College of Liberia.

At every point the whole population turned out to meet the distinguished visitors from America, and at several places large numbers came down from the interior to see the extremely odd sight of a man with white skin. At Rocktown, for instance, upwards of 500 men from the back country,

waving branches and flowers, lined up in two lines between which the visitors were escorted to the local king. Beside him were seated two chiefs from the hinterland and a high priest. The king presented them with a bullock and crowned them with a sort of garland; the ancients greeted them with speeches. After this reception they went to the place where the Church people were gathered. A series of services followed each other without a break, in the course of which the Archdeacon baptized 87, the bishop confirmed 123 and celebrated Holy Communion, and each of them made an address. Afterwards came a feast, and then they held open court. Innumerable petitions for the enlargement of the work already in hand and for the establishment of more schools were presented, as well as offers to provide land and build churches.

In the course of his visitation Lloyd admitted three postulants and four candidates for Holy Orders; ordained three men to the diaconate and one to the priesthood, baptized 213 and confirmed 621. In addition he made a number of changes in the stations, shifted some of the clergy to places where they were more needed, presided over a convocation, and arranged the affairs of the district for the immediate future.

Though there were only about 40,000 "civilized" people and over 2,000,000 "uncivilized" within the territories of the Republic, Lloyd was convinced that the people were making a really notable effort toward a democratic nation, and he had no doubt of their ability nor of the courage and fortitude with which they would meet their problems. The efforts of foreign traders to prevent them establishing the sort of strong self-government which could protect its citizens against exploitation from the outside seemed to him the most serious obstacle to be overcome, and next to that came the complete

stoppage of their export trade during the World War, causing so acute a financial situation that all the national schools had to be closed. If the Liberians could be given competent advice by outsiders in matters of education, agricultural methods, and trade, he was sure the natural resources and the ability of the people would develop a flourishing nation from which the light of free institutions would spread through Africa. Other Americans who knew Liberia as well as Lloyd, if not better, thought that he had much too rosy a view of the "civilized" Liberians.

Even stronger was Lloyd's impression of the contribution that the Episcopal Church had made to Liberia. A great majority of its leaders had been trained in the Church schools and many of them were communicants, and in many of the settlements the strongest men were Churchmen. During most of its existence the only schools in the Republic had been Church schools, and its hospital was the only one.

But Lloyd thought the need for continued help from the Church in America was great. Liberia had to be run by blacks, otherwise it would be in fact a colony. The only whites who could give the sort of behind-the-scenes help that was needed, wise counsel that rested for its effect on the personal influence of the advisors but never on their control, were missionaries. They might be doctors, agricultural experts or financiers, but they must represent the Church rather than a business house or a nation to insure their disinterestedness. If the leaders of the Republic could have the help of such men, and if by the assistance of competent American clergymen the Liberian Church could be made strong enough to evangelize the country and to build up powerful centres of Christian character and ideals, then the future would be assured.

But the help the Church in America was giving was woefully inadequate. The Liberian Churchmen were doing their best but they were very poor. He urged America to send the needed missionaries. He pled for funds sufficient to put the property in repair, to furnish the schools with essential equipment, and to put the farms into condition to support the ministers and teachers. That the funds would not be wasted he felt sure, for nowhere had he seen any signs of the misuse or waste of what had been given.

On the difficult question of the bishopric, though admitting that a strong white bishop could give a more aggressive and efficient leadership, he thought that in the long run it would do more for the development of the Liberian Church if one of its own priests were made bishop with a white archdeacon to advise him, to strengthen his hand, and to represent him in securing missionaries and funds from America; and he was convinced that the spiritual development of the black man was more important than Church traditions or the immediate efficiency of ecclesiastical organization.

Lloyd and Schofield sailed from Monrovia one evening toward the end of February, leaving their trunks still on deck. At three o'clock in the morning an alarm was sounded. Dressing as quickly as possible in the dark, they went on deck and learned that less than a quarter of an hour earlier a ship had been torpedoed a few miles ahead. Lloyd had left his passport and money in his trunk and had no idea where the latter was. The Archdeacon finally found it. Lloyd put his passport in his pocket and strapped on the belt in which he carried \$250 in gold. The Archdeacon remonstrated that with such a weight of gold it would be very hard to swim if their ship were sunk. Lloyd answered that he had never learned to swim a stroke and therefore the added burden was

not a problem at all. For forty-five minutes they waited in silence. Nothing happened for nearly six hours. About nine o'clock they were approached by what looked like a fishing smack. Suddenly it opened fire. The steamer had no guns and could not fight. Its only hope was flight. Under forced draft it gradually drew out of range. Between thirty-five and forty shots were fired at it during the forty-five minutes chase, several of which destroyed the lifeboats and upper works. The enemy continued the pursuit till a warship from Free-town appeared on the horizon.

That night the Archdeacon said to the bishop: "You once told me that if we had to take to the water I was to hit you over the head with a bat or an oar or something, but you never mentioned anything to me this morning about wanting to be knocked out." "No," said the Bishop, "I was thinking all the time if only I had you safe back with your wife in Denver how happy I would be." A few minutes later he added, "And I was also thinking how cold the water was."

They landed in New York the end of April, 1918. Lloyd's health had been quite made over by the long sea voyage and the enforced freedom from the responsibility of "281."

5.

The war was brought very close home to the Lloyds not only by attacks upon the ships on which he was sailing but also through their children. John was due to complete his course at the Virginia Seminary in June, 1917. Convinced that the United States owed a duty to God and man to fight, he wanted to enlist in the infantry as soon as Congress declared war and complete his studies later. But under the canons of the Episcopal Church he was subject to the bishop

who had received him as a candidate for Orders, in his case Bishop Gibson of Virginia. The latter felt strongly that no clergyman or candidate had any right to bear arms and refused point-blank to sanction his enlistment. Young Lloyd, faced with being dropped from the ministry, appealed to his father who told him that he must obey his bishop. John finally secured Bishop Gibson's consent to enlisting in the hospital corps as a private, was ordained by his father, and sailed overseas. He was attached to General Lejeune's Marine division and served at various places on the front as a stretcher-bearer. From time to time when no chaplains were available he functioned also as a priest, and daily he made his influence felt by the men with whom he lived and worked. Frequently, he was under fire. His letters home, though they told very little of his life, helped his father realize what the War was like. He was gassed in the 1918 spring offensive, though none of the family knew it till over a year later. After the Armistice he was sent with the American Army of Occupation to Coblenz.

The war, and especially his experiences in Coblenz, affected John as profoundly as any of his contemporaries. He made a point of getting to know well as many Germans as he could. They were like his friends; they cherished the same ideals; they had been led to think of the Allies in the same monstrous ways he had been taught to regard the Prussian soldiers. They had hated the war and had fought because they were persuaded that they were defending their country from ruin and were preserving priceless cultural values. He came to the conclusion that the common people in all lands had been duped. As a result he grew critical of what he now regarded as his father's unjustified bellicosity, and said so frankly in his letters. He also raised the question

whether a peaceful and prosperous society could ever be achieved under the capitalist system, whether capitalism was at all compatible with what Jesus taught and lived.

Three of the Lloyd sons-in-law served overseas, Dandridge and Gibson as chaplains, Hadden in the Engineer Corps. He was glad that, in the hour of the nation's need, at a time when justice and liberty and democracy were in the balance, his kinsmen were risking their lives for the right. Symington tried to enter the Army also, but being head of a large manufacturing company he was ordered to remain and make munitions. It was a source of supreme satisfaction to Lloyd that "Charles came out of the war not one cent richer than he went in, because he paid himself a small salary and sold to the government at actual production cost."

Chapter IX

THE CLIMAX

I.

AT THE close of the fiscal year 1916 there was a surplus of \$31,000 in the treasury, and that despite the facts that the Board had used \$50,000 above the appropriations for equipment in the domestic fields, and that the Church had raised \$6,500,000 to inaugurate a pension fund for its superannuated and disabled clergy. Mr. Clark was justified in claiming that "the great suffering of humanity in the world today has touched men's hearts as never before." Consequently, at the Board meeting in February, when it was evident that America was sure to declare war in the near future, Lloyd urged the Board to maintain and if possible expand its work. Appropriations were slightly increased over those of the previous year. During 1917 some parishes and a few whole dioceses completely failed to meet their apportionments. This default, plus unforeseen emergency expenditures over and above the increased appropriations, meant that when the year ended the Board had spent \$143,309.20 more than its income.

During 1918 the situation grew steadily worse. The reasons were not far to seek. The government was using every device of propaganda to increase the patriotic impulse to buy Liberty Loan Bonds, to contribute to the drives of the Red Cross and the Y.M.C.A., while also raising taxes. The cost of living rose. Many parishes were without rectors, their

ministers having left to become chaplains or secretaries for the Y.M.C.A., and many Churchmen were with the armed forces. All this meant a drop in contributions to the Board. At the same time its expenses unexpectedly rose considerably above the appropriations. It had authorized certain building in Tokyo for which special gifts had been pledged. The gifts did not materialize, and meeting the bills amounted to nearly \$500,000. In addition to this blow, Chinese money so changed its value in terms of American dollars that the Board had to add over \$250,000 to its remittances to China.

By November, 1918, the situation was so serious that Dr. Stires suggested that the Executive Committee request a number of leading New York business men to advise the President and Treasurer about ways and means of meeting the Church's obligations. When the Board met in December, the Treasurer reported that if the Church were to end the year free of debt it had to receive \$838,000 before January 1st.

A telegram was sent that night to every bishop explaining the situation, asking them to inform every parish by night letter and to request special offerings. Lloyd also presented a plan for such thorough education and canvass as might avert similar crises in the future. This was referred to a special committee and was the next step toward the Nation-Wide Campaign.

The response to the appeal for special gifts was **gratifying**. A missionary in the West sent Lloyd a letter enclosing several checks. "After receiving your telegram I decided to leave my work piled on my desk and to go to our friends and tell them about the deficit and ask them to help. I went to a nearby ranch and borrowed a broncho, buckled on my chaps and spurs and started out through the blizzard, drifts, and banks

of snow to see the ranchmen in their homes and the brethren in their cabins. It was a hard day's ride without any lunch and facing the blizzard. I took the telegram with me, read it to my scattered flock, told them about the goodness of God to them this year and made my appeal for their gifts. . . . I did not get home with the pony till after dark. . . . If we do not rise to the great need now, countless thousands of men and women will be left out of the fold and wander like sheep lost upon the mountains."

Over \$500,000 was received. The result was that the year 1918 ended with a total deficit of \$266,357.47, of which \$143,309.20 was carried over from the previous year. This was reported to the meeting of the Board in February, 1919. At this same meeting formal approval was given to the suggestion Lloyd had made in December that as soon as possible there should be a "Nation-Wide Campaign of Missionary Information, Education, and Inspiration."

The plan which Lloyd submitted to the Board in December, 1918, was based on the ideas used by the Reverend Robert B. Patton in the Province of Sewanee. Patton had been field secretary for thirteen years. Shortly after he began this work he was asked by a bishop what he did. He answered, "I make a missionary speech and then take the next train to another town to make another speech." The bishop commented, "You remind me of a man who has some bread and such a little butter that he has to spread it so thin that he never notices it unless it's bad." That remark caused Patton to rethink his whole promotional methods. He knew that however interestingly the Church's missionary work might be presented in a half-hour address on Sunday or a week-day, the people had six days, twenty-three hours and thirty minutes in which to forget all about it. Therefore, an *inten-*

sive and *lasting* impression must be made on a parish or community, followed by a carefully prepared canvass. He had worked out his methods skilfully, and Lloyd was positive that they ought to be used throughout the Church.

With Patton's experience as his guide, Lloyd suggested to the Board in December, 1918, two major steps: that the work of all national Church Boards ought to be consolidated, a proposal he had put forward before; that steps be taken for a campaign of careful education in every parish on the place of missions in Christian life, on the work actually being done by the Episcopal Church and what was needed to support it, to be followed by a systematic canvass of every member of the Church. He suggested how such a large undertaking might be carried out and asked the Board to appoint a committee with power to initiate it. One of the members of the Board, Dr. Milton, amplified Lloyd's proposals, suggesting that they should follow the organization used by the Red Cross in their drives.

Lloyd's suggestion and Milton's additions were entrusted to a committee consisting of Lloyd, two priests, and three laymen, with power to act. The coöperation of the other Boards of the general Church was secured. Dr. Patton was made director of the campaign and a central office established with departments for Survey, Publicity, Field, and also one on Spiritual Resources, Life, Service, and Stewardship. The Executive Committee of the Board in February authorized the Treasurer to loan the campaign committee \$5000, but as the scope of the undertaking increased it became evident that this would be entirely inadequate, with the result that the Board made arrangements for placing \$150,000 at its disposal.

For a while Patton and his associates worked quietly, gath-

ering material and forming committees composed of the strongest men and women of the Church in various central cities. The first general notice sent to the whole Church of what was afoot was contained in two letters by Lloyd and the Presiding Bishop published in the Easter number of all Church papers. At the same time Lloyd wrote to every bishop bespeaking coöperation, and Patton wrote to every clergyman making the same request. Most of the replies were favorable. Steps were then taken to send speakers to every diocesan and district convention that met in the spring. By the end of May, 1919, the scheme had been presented to 31 dioceses, 22 of which promised to do their best, and had formed a committee of clergy and laity to push the matter. Efforts were made to impress upon these diocesan committees that the main aim was spiritual and educational, and that the financial aspect, though essential, was secondary. They were asked to see to it that each parish was so organized that after people's minds had been informed and their consciences aroused all members could be seen in an every-member canvass.

Meanwhile Patton and his colleagues were gathering the Church's best speakers at training conferences in Washington, Chicago, and San Francisco to prepare them to present the cause, and surveys were made of the past work, present opportunities, financial and personnel needs of every agency of the general Church and of the coöperating dioceses, in order to determine a unified budget for all the work of the Church. Plans were made to lay forcibly before General Convention in October, 1919, both what the Church and its various agencies ought to do and what was necessary in the way of organization and funds to fulfil these tasks.

But though the response to the plan was generally favor-

able, opposition was formidable. At the May meeting of the Board, Bishop Nelson of Albany expressed vigorous dissent from the whole idea. The expenses of the campaign were objectionable; it was undemocratic, for it was planned and begun by the Board before the consent of the representatives of the Church in General Convention assembled were consulted; he doubted the competence of those in charge of it. Bishop Rhinelander of Pennsylvania was even more direct. Though he was sure that there was now scarcely any of the old type of criticism based on party feelings, yet he thought that the leadership of the Board had become pretty generally distrusted by the rank and file of the Church and that "the work needs another mind for administration."

At the same meeting Mr. King presented his resignation as Treasurer of the Board, to go into effect at the meeting of General Convention in October. In his letter he based this action on the grounds that he had served ten years, that he was old and tired, that the work had outgrown him and needed an administrator with different views. But in private conversations he made no secret of the fact that there were other reasons. He felt that Church folk had already been asked for all that could reasonably be expected, and he was unwilling to be associated with the Board in an effort to raise large sums not only to pay off deficits but to expand the work, arguing that operations ought rather to be contracted to such limits as the people had shown they were ready to support.

The Board was not persuaded by the dissenting bishops and determined to go on with the campaign. It had no choice but to accept Mr. King's resignation. But the opposition continued. During the summer some twenty bishops met to discuss how the campaign might be quashed, characterizing it as the hair-brained idea of a few misguided enthusiasts who

in their financial irresponsibility were likely to annoy and alienate from the Church substantial people already wearied of appeals from innumerable sources. But all through the summer Patton and his colleagues worked day and night — frequently eighteen hours out of the twenty-four — collecting and digesting data, preparing publicity, arousing support.

The Episcopal Church has never been served by a greater figure in the field of promotion than Robert Patton. To him, more than to any one man, was due the success of the endeavor. Many of the ideas came from him, the fruit of long years of experience. He furnished much of the unwearying urgency which overcame great obstacles and much of the eloquence that won popular support. He it was who, with Lloyd, had originally been convinced of the necessity and feasibility of such a project and then, when put in charge of carrying the campaign through, displayed superb powers of leadership and organization.

But Patton could never have succeeded without the very able and arduous work of his associates — Milton, La Mothe, Bland Mitchell, Gibson, Yellott, Louis G. Wood. They handled the details of organization and research and the follow-up work in innumerable communities where he first aroused enthusiasm. They did it all so quietly that very few people realized how much the campaign owed to them. They did all in their power to make its teaching about the Church, prayer, and Christian attitudes take precedence over money-raising.

Nor could Patton have succeeded without Lloyd. For it was Lloyd who had persuaded the Board to approve and initiate the campaign. He had supported it against all arguments at the May meeting. He pressed it whenever opportunity opened. When his episcopal brethren tried to quash

it during the summer, he threw all his influence against them. When Patton or one of his co-workers grew tired or temporarily discouraged because of opposition, the size of their task, or the inertia of Church folk in general, he listened to their troubles and sent them back re-inspired. As Dr. Patton wrote the author, "There never was a man who had to such a degree the ability to reinvigorate and inspire men. Nor have I ever known one who had more of the supreme gift of an executive — to pick subordinates, give them their job, keep their vision clear and their course right, while allowing them all the scope and freedom to work out their own ideas, supporting them against criticism so long as they were delivering the goods." Dr. Milton expressed himself to the same effect, adding "I never worked for such a man. He was marvelous to us. In our consultations with him he was of inestimable help because his intuitions were amazingly right even if the reasoning by which he tried to support them seemed often unintelligible or weak to me. But we learned to follow his intuitions and disregard his reasons." His immense prestige with the bulk of the Church was one of the principal factors in winning a hearing for the plans. And also, by securing and holding the support of the Presiding Bishop, the beloved and revered patriarch, Bishop Tuttle, he gained great support for the campaign.

During the summer a further step was taken. In furtherance of the proposal to consolidate all the work of the general Church under a single administrative control, Lloyd and various members of the Board who strongly favored the idea had secured the support of many laymen and women from various parts of the country and given publicity to their opinions. He enlisted the aid of leading canonists in perfecting the draft of a canon to accomplish this purpose and

arranged for its submission to General Convention. Its terms provided for an Executive Council with departments of Church Extension, Religious Education, Social Service, and Finance. The work of the Board of Missions would fall to the Department of Church Extension. The Executive Council was to present to each General Convention a budget for the following triennium covering the work of all its departments. This proposed canon was discussed fully in the Church press all through the summer.

Lloyd did one more thing during the summer of 1919. Knowing that Mr. King was about to retire, he began to look for a successor. His son-in-law, Mr. Charles J. Symington, mentioned to him one day the name of Mr. Lewis B. Franklin, an experienced and successful banker who had had the chief responsibility for the Liberty Loan drives. He was a communicant with no more than the average interest in the Church or its missions. Lloyd lunched with him one day and, after the meal was over, asked if he would be interested in succeeding Mr. King.

"What's the proposition?" countered Franklin.

Lloyd described the duties of the post. Then he said that the Treasurer was under him as President of the Board, but that there was a proposal for such complete reorganization that he personally might no longer be retained. He added also that heretofore the Treasurer had always served without remuneration, but that people were going to try at Convention to make it a salaried post so that others than men of large means might fill it. When he finished Franklin said:

"Well, Bishop, it looks to me as though you were offering me a job that in two months may not exist, under a boss who in two months may be out, and at a salary which at present is non-existent."

Lloyd leaned forward, "Young man, you've got it exactly. I'm delighted to see how quick you are. I'm surer than ever that you're the man for the job."

Franklin, who had recently declined a partnership in a financial house with promises of very large returns, was immensely intrigued. The next day he called Lloyd and said he would accept the treasurership. Six months later the firm which had tried to secure his services failed for \$12,000,000 and every partner was criminally indicted.

2.

The General Convention of 1919 was the climax of Lloyd's career.

It was held in Detroit. Just before it convened the Board met in the same city. At Lloyd's suggestion it prepared to ask General Convention for a salaried Treasurer and to nominate Mr. Franklin for the post. Then Mr. King submitted his report. He estimated that if all the apportionment were paid and the invested funds produced their full revenue, there would be a deficit for the current year of about \$175,000, which added to the deficit inherited from the preceding year would mean a total debt of a little over \$440,000. To meet this the Reserve Fund had only \$154,000. He summed up the situation, "At the present rate of receipts and expenditures this amount is wholly inadequate to care for the Board's business."

The Board then heard a review from Patton of his work; secured an agreement from the missionary bishops to campaign for the general work of missions and not for their own districts; proposed an apportionment for 1920 of \$2,400,000; and perfected its plans for presenting the Nation-Wide Cam-

paign to General Convention, as well as for using its influence to secure the passage of the Canon unifying all the work of the General Church.

During General Convention Lloyd was busy day and night. In addition to attending to his duties as a member of the House of Bishops, he had to make his report to a joint session of both Houses on the work of the past three years and the outlook for the next triennium. That part of his address which dealt with the Nation-Wide Campaign was referred to a joint committee which was ordered to report to the two Houses what Convention ought to do about it. At every possible opportunity he tried to win support for the Nation-Wide Campaign and the Executive Council, talking to bishops and deputies in any place and at any time he could find them.

In the early days of the Convention Lloyd made one of the most effective speeches of his life. At the meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary when the United Thank Offering was presented—\$465,000, the largest figure ever reached to that date—he made a spontaneous address which fitted the situation perfectly. After thanking them for what they had done, he went on, "You have done a great thing. But the penalty of success is to have new and greater burdens to bear. This offering is a challenge to you, not the end of an undertaking. An army of men and women will soon be going up and down in this land. I suppose every one of you will ring true in that Campaign. Good people, isn't God bringing us up to a pinnacle where we may look and be inspired with courage and then go back into our closets and pray God to have pity upon our pitifulness. It isn't because you do anything, it isn't because you give anything, that you accomplish great things. It is because you yourselves, so far as you are able, put into

practice in practical life the words 'Here we offer ourselves a living sacrifice,' and put yourselves into the Master's hands to be used for the things He wants accomplished." Very brief, very simple; but those few words lifted his hearers to the heights of worship and self-commitment.

Lloyd had persuaded the people in charge of arrangements to put aside one entire day, October 15th, for consideration of the Campaign at a joint session. It was perhaps the most important single day in his career, for on its proceedings depended whether or not the vision he had so long proclaimed would be realized. Having been told to choose his own speakers and to use the time as he saw fit, he chose a few men who thoroughly understood the Campaign and the Council and who had the ability to present subjects convincingly, and to each he assigned some specific phase. To preside over the meeting he chose the Reverend Dr. Freeman of Minneapolis, now Bishop of Washington.

The morning of the joint session came. Lloyd gathered his men in his hotel room for last minute counsel, but primarily for prayer. The rest of the story of that day is best told largely in Bishop Freeman's words. "With characteristic fervor he laid before us the urgency of the situation and the need for well-ordered planning that the whole question might be adequately presented. He stressed above all else the place of prayer. Without it, he advised, we must surely fail. He asked each one of us to offer aloud his own prayer to God as we knelt around the room.

"At length the session met. By noon the plans of the projected 'Nation-Wide Campaign' had been presented. From that hour on to the close of the afternoon the debate was continued in a tense atmosphere. Persistent opposition was expressed by a small but strongly organized group, and by

four in the afternoon the plans for a nation-wide missionary effort were in jeopardy. Bishop Lloyd sat immediately behind me, with the other members of the Board, and as the last assigned speaker took his place he came quietly to my chair and advised me that something must be done and done quickly else our cause would be lost. As he spoke to me he put in my hand a small pocket Prayer Book, and as my fingers closed upon the book I noted that he had opened it to the General Confession in the Communion office. 'Try to induce the Convention to stop for a moment of prayer,' he said, 'and then try to have four representative laymen from different geographic sections of the Church address it on our proposed plan. I think that even at this time we may save our cause.'

"There was earnestness and urgency in his plea, and we immediately dispatched messengers to four carefully-selected laymen." At this point Dr. Freeman left the chair to make a brief defense of Lloyd's whole aim, policy, and administration and to plead earnestly for the adoption of this plan which seemed to the bishop essential if the work of the Church was to prosper. After Dr. Freeman had resumed the chair there was a short period of confusion, "speaker after speaker arising to ask recognition. Presently the first of our chosen laymen, the late Mr. Mansfield of Connecticut, was recognized and the final phase of the debate was on. To each one of these four men the chair accorded ten minutes. Their addresses were strong, persuasive, and appealing. When they had finished a different atmosphere prevailed." A succession of laymen were recognized at random, and nearly every one of them supported the plan. Two-thirds of the lay deputies were at their first General Convention. They realized something drastic was needed if the deficit were to be covered and if the Church were to do any effective work in the future; war

experience had freed them somewhat from the grip of tradition and precedent; some of them thought "the Episcopal Church is too smugly respectable: let's put some rousements in." The proposals seemed sound, and the methods were in line with what had proven successful in other undertakings. So they urged favorable action.

As the hour set for vote and adjournment drew near, Dr. McKim of Washington, one of the veteran clerical leaders of the Church, arose and with deep feeling moved "that before adjournment the Chairman be respectfully requested to return thanks to Almighty God for the gift of His Holy Spirit in the inspiration of this great movement." This unqualified endorsement was carried by an overwhelming majority.

"I rose," continued Dr. Freeman's letter, "with the Bishop's little Prayer Book in my hand and a Bible opened at the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. I read the graphic story of the unity of the disciples on the Day of Pentecost. It was a hushed and reverent house. I do not recall that we were ever more deeply moved than on that memorable day in Detroit. When I asked the delegates to kneel and say with me the General Confession, the Lord's Prayer, and the Collect for Quinquagesima, it was a body that found its unity before the throne of Divine Grace.

"The whole scene was one of the most dramatic that my generation has ever witnessed. The Nation-Wide Campaign was launched and the wisdom of Bishop Lloyd was vindicated. The hours of prayer in an upper room had again proved fruitful."

After that joint session there was no doubt about the action of the two Houses on the Campaign. They provided that the survey should be completed; that a total budget should be

drawn up based on the needs disclosed by the survey and apportioned to the various dioceses and districts on the basis of their current expenses; that a fair basis should be determined for dividing the funds raised between the national agencies and the diocesan, that the educational and inspirational aspects should be carried out everywhere, and such expert assistance employed as might be necessary; and that every diocese and district should have an every member canvass in every parish on the first Sunday in December, or as near that date as possible.

They also passed the canon organizing an executive council under whose administration was centralized all the work of national Church agencies. It was passed almost exactly as introduced. The members were elected. Due to the great age and almost total deafness of the Presiding Bishop, the canon provided that during his lifetime and until his post became elective, the President of the Council should be a different man. Lloyd's term of office as President of the Board of Missions still had three years to run, and consequently most people thought he had both a legal and a moral right to the new post. But Lloyd resigned in order that the Convention might have complete freedom to elect as President whomsoever the majority desired.

Though he never said anything about it, some of his close friends were positive that Lloyd hoped to be elected President. He more than any one man was responsible for the evolution of the Council and for the new day of forward movement which the Nation-Wide Campaign promised. It was wholly natural that he should desire a chance to lead the perfected machinery on to greater efforts. But if he desired the post, he was disappointed. The electing was done by the House of Bishops, subject to ratification by the Deputies.

Various groups among the bishops were opposed to Lloyd. He had never been a diocesan, and some wanted a man thoroughly conversant with their problems. He was known to favor a highly centralized church government which might threaten diocesan autonomy, and to many bishops the Episcopal Church was properly conceived as a federation of autonomous units rather than a single body with administrative sub-divisions. Another group had never been reconciled to Lloyd's attitude to the Panama Congress. They knew he favored the closest possible ties with other mission Boards, and they feared that if he were elected he would lead the Church into dangerous collaboration with non-episcopal communions. Still a fourth group distrusted his administrative and financial capacities.

The election had been set for Monday morning of the last week of General Convention. For one reason or another it was postponed from day to day until Saturday. By that time the House of Deputies had finished all business and was singing hymns while it waited to confirm the action of the other House, and about one-third of the voting membership of the House of Bishops had left. Those who had left included some of Lloyd's strongest supporters and many who had expressed preference for him. Thinking he was so obviously the only man for the post that his election was absolutely certain, they deemed it unnecessary to remain for the voting. On the eighth ballot Bishop Gailor of Tennessee was chosen. Lloyd was the first to congratulate him, and his expression as he did so caused one observer to remark: "That man is different from ordinary people. He has the face of a saint and a gentleman."

In the weeks following General Convention Lloyd received a flood of letters, most of them voicing either stunned

surprise or indignant protest at what had happened. During this same period some of his closest friends thought he achieved his supreme spiritual triumph. He was deeply disappointed at first. But he rose over any thought of himself in joy at the reorganization of the work. He was convinced that there was some divine purpose behind what had happened, and that if he and his friends could learn what that purpose was it would minister to the development not only of the Church's mission but of themselves. It was not sheer fatalism: it was a consuming desire to learn and obey God's will.

The Council was to assume its responsibilities on the first of January. The men elected met in Washington on November 25th for purposes of organization. Their first act was to offer Lloyd the post of Executive Secretary of the Department of Missions at the same salary he had had as President of the Board, an offer he declined lest his presence in the office might hamper the new President. Dr. John W. Wood, his colleague for twenty years, was then chosen in his place.

3.

Lloyd presided over the Board of Missions for the last time on December 10, 1919. The purpose of this meeting was to wind up its affairs and clear the way for the Council. So it formally ordered all its officers to put themselves into communication with the Council, to furnish them with all information that would facilitate their entering into discharge of their duties, and upon January 1, 1920, to deliver to them all records of the Board of Missions.

Lloyd expressed his feelings in an impromptu speech which was taken down by a stenographer and later printed

in *The Spirit of Missions*. After expressing his happiness over the steady expansion of the work and the formation of a Council with authority, the progress being made by the Nation-Wide Campaign in arousing the Church to its task, he touched on his personal relations with Board members in a passage that is so revealing as to be reproduced fully.

"You have been very generous. Sometimes I have been perfectly certain you were going to destroy the Church when you were not able to see the way of wisdom as I proposed it, and I have gone upstairs heart-broken only to thank you later for not yielding to my point of view because it turned out that you had more of that thing called common sense than I had on those particular occasions. You have saved me on a good many occasions from doing things that would have been hard to correct, even while you tried my soul by being so slow. Always it has been easier for me to bear with you because I knew that in me you had a person in some ways difficult to deal with. I was not able, in spite of my intention, always to make the Board understand what I was after, and many times you have had to take me on faith. This was especially the case in the beginning. . . . I don't know what would become of me had it not been for my dear old fathers, Bishop Doane and Dr. Huntington, who never hesitated to tell me the truth when they disagreed with me. I have rejoiced in it all these years, until the crowning act of your generosity came last fall when the desire of my heart which had been growing for years, and which I knew had to come some time and which I wanted to have a hand in, was made possible by your doing a thing which I confess took my breath away at the moment. It was when you authorized and made possible the Nation-Wide Campaign by ordering the Treasurer to underwrite its expense that you did the biggest thing,

the most generous thing, you have done since I have been in this office. That one thing would have made me glad for all the years I have worked here, if I had had nothing else, because you had to do it on faith."

Lloyd was called from the room during the meeting, and while he was away the Board adopted a resolution granting him a retiring allowance of \$5000 a year, basing their action on the fact that the canons under which he had served as President provided for such a pension. It seemed to them unfair that he should forfeit security for his old age simply because he had succeeded in bringing into being a more efficient mode of administering the Church's work. That would be to penalize him because he had been a useful servant.

Lloyd was formally apprised of this action by letter. He wrote at once declining it.

"I am writing to ask you to convey to the Board my thanks and to beg them to allow me the privilege of declining this provision for my comfort in the same spirit in which it is offered. I am doing this for no other reason than that in my judgment the Church has done all that it should do for me in offering me a position (as a Secretary in the Council). But apart from this, I am in perfect health and ought to be able to take care of myself. Nor could I be happy if the least part of the funds so much needed for the relief of actual want on the part of men and women who represent the Church at the front should be diverted for my personal comfort."

It is advisable at this point to jump ahead and complete the story of Lloyd's pension.

A special meeting of the House of Bishops was held in St. Louis the end of October, 1920, at which Lloyd was not present. It was known that he had gone to a very small parish

on a very low salary. The House sent a message to the National Council that a pension ought to be granted him.

This message was reported to the Council on February 16, 1921. The Council agreed to it and asked the Finance Department if it could afford him an allowance of \$5000 a year. Upon being told it was possible, the Council voted the pension and specifically requested him to accept it. Lloyd did so, being assured that it would not affect in the slightest what was given to the missionaries. He had grown to feel that the Church must get into the practice of providing for the men it called from dioceses or parishes to work at its headquarters. He had no intention of using it for himself; he wanted a principle established. When he became suffragan bishop of New York and received from that post an adequate salary, he contemplated resigning his pension, but at the request of the Department of Missions he kept it. Some years he turned back to the Department an equal sum to be used for some specified object in one of the fields. Other years he devoted it to other purposes.

When the Council took charge, Lloyd's responsibility for the Nation-Wide Campaign ended, but not his interest in it. He spoke and wrote on its behalf, and followed its development with close attention. With that development we are not concerned except for one point. In some respects it disappointed him. He had conceived it primarily as an educational and evangelistic enterprise. Money-raising was important but was secondary: important because for most people contributing money was the chief symbol of their devotion to the Master's work; secondary because devotion to the Master's work depended on conversion, knowledge of what the Master had come to do, what the Church was, and what function He had committed to it. Apart from such informed conversions

the most perfect organization would be but a dead machine; unless the spirit of devotion to the King were aroused, the money raised by modern methods would be a souless and reluctant payment of taxes. The work of the missionaries might be supported for a time but the Church would wither. To Lloyd's dismay, as time went on the Nation-Wide Campaign became regarded almost entirely as a money-raising device. The spiritual aims were subordinated. Its success was estimated in terms of dollars and cents rather than of faith and prayer and personal service. To Lloyd this was a cruel perversion of the vision he and Patton and Milton and the others had seen.

Lloyd's last days at "281" were a time of sadness for everyone. He was as nearly worshiped by the staff as a man can be. When they thought of his going it seemed to them as though the chief light in their lives was being extinguished. The man who ran the elevator confided to one of the other officers, "I don't know as I want to stay after he leaves." Several of the stenographers began to look for new posts.

On the last day, Lloyd celebrated the Holy Communion for the entire staff. Everyone in the house crowded into the chapel. He made a short address, thanking them for the loyalty and love they had given to him, saying that he would have to gauge their affection for him by the loyalty with which they worked under the new administration. He said good-bye to them individually, asking that nobody take any notice of his departure in the evening. "You must see to it that nothing is done by the family when I leave. There are some things no man should be asked to bear."

And so about six o'clock in the evening of December 31st, Lloyd walked out of the building as quietly as on any other evening during the previous two decades.

Chapter X

LLOYD'S CONTRIBUTION AT "281"

IT IS DIFFICULT to appraise the contribution Lloyd made to the Episcopal Church during his service as Executive Secretary and President of the Board of Missions. But the attempt must be made.

I.

Lloyd did more than any other one individual to persuade the members of the Episcopal Church that the Church is a missionary society. At the end of his tenure of office a far greater proportion of its clergy and laity felt under obligation to pray, work, and give for missions than at the beginning. Statistics are tricky things, but it is worth noting that whereas in 1899, 61 per cent of all the congregations contributed to the Board, in 1919 the number had risen to 69 per cent. More significant yet is the fact that whereas of the parishes and missions having resident ministers 82 per cent contributed in 1900, in 1919, 98 per cent did, a striking proof of the change in the attitude of the clergy.

Of course, Lloyd did not accomplish this result single-handed. Members of the Board like Bishop Doane, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Pepper helped greatly by articles and addresses. Missionaries like Bishop Brent were of incalculable importance. Even more was due to the day-in and day-out work of the men he associated with himself on the staff at

"281" and of the field secretaries. But one of the most important parts of achieving an objective is to choose the right associates. Mr. Wood was chosen before Lloyd took office, but all the rest were Lloyd's nominees. And a considerable part of their effectiveness was due to his ability to inspire them with something of his own vision and to draw out from them every ounce of ability and effort. Under other leadership they might have become simply efficient office clerks. He helped them be channels through which the Master's call reached people.

And Lloyd himself did much of the work of arousing the Church to understand itself as a Body to which a task had been entrusted. By endless addresses and letters, by articles in *The Spirit of Missions* and other Church papers, by conversations with clergy and laity all over America, by inspiring those who managed the Laymen's Forward Movement and finally the Nation-Wide Campaign, he shared his concern for the mission of the Church. He visited more congregations, as well as diocesan and departmental gatherings, than anyone else, and was generally regarded as the most persuasive advocate of the cause. Others did the same sort of work; others organized the study classes and provided the literature; others harnessed to specific undertakings the enthusiasm he had aroused. But he paved the way for them and kindled the zeal they organized.

It is also true that his tenure of office coincided with the flood tide of missionary concern in America. The Student Volunteers, the Laymen's Missionary Movement, and kindred enterprises made the constituents of all the Churches conscious of their task. Men like Presidents Roosevelt and Taft were urging the Churches to evangelize the nations. Leaders in the Orient asked for missionaries, evangelistic,

medical, and educational. Every communion increased its work as much as Lloyd's. The time was ripe for his endeavors. But he made the endeavors. He capitalized on the aroused consciousness. He probably could not have succeeded as he did had it not been for Mott and Speer and others like them. But it was he who directed the awakened laymen so that their interest made itself felt by the membership of the Episcopal Church. And then he persuaded the latter that missions was no business in which some Christians might be interested and from which other equally good Christians could stand aside, but that it was the inescapable and primary obligation of the entire body in its corporate capacity.

2.

Closely related to this work of arousing the sense of mission was his contribution to the missionary organization and administration of the Church. Opinion is sharply divided over Lloyd's capacity as an executive. One Board member wrote, "He was a very poor executive"; another, "I thought him excellent as an executive." There are two parts to an executive's task: to perfect the organization which he is called upon to lead; to administer its affairs.

It seems to the present writer that as an *organizer* Lloyd had great gifts and great liabilities. He had superlatively the first requirement of an organizer, a great vision; a vision of the function, one-ness and coördinated activity of the Church. Also he had an intuitive understanding of what was necessary *in the large* to realize his vision. His first weakness was in working out the details of the organization whose large outlines he had seen. He was apt to think that if an enterprise was started right it would work out properly. But

this defect was offset by his ability to surround himself with men who could and would work out those details. His other weakness was his difficulty in making clear to members of the Board and of General Convention the plans of organization and procedure he wanted to lay before them. This was due ultimately to the fact that he reached his conclusions intuitively rather than by strictly logical processes. This was illustrated by the phrases with which he habitually prefaced a statement of conviction: "It was borne in upon me," or "I was moved upon to realize," or "I have been showed." Now, it is always difficult to communicate what has been apprehended intuitively. What has been arrived at by logical analysis and reasoning can be communicated by logic, but if one has achieved an idea by intuition, one is reduced to two alternatives. Either one can try to make people *see* it, by analogy, illustration, word-picture; or one can try to find logical steps by which to convey it. Lloyd tried both. When he tried the latter, his reasoning was not convincing to his much more logically-minded associates like Dr. Huntington or Bishop Lawrence. When he tried the former, his own highly individualistic language often suggested to others quite different pictures and ideas from those he intended. Yet despite these two shortcomings, Lloyd played a very large part, some of his contemporaries say the primary part, in the successive steps by which the missionary organization was improved at General Conventions.

As an administrator Lloyd's chief failing was his tendency to think too generously of people. He used to say to his colleagues, "You have no right to judge a man except from the point of view of the highest aspiration he has ever been able to attain to. That represents the real man, the real you." Undoubtedly this attitude made those who were close to him

struggle to measure up to his expectations. But it had less effect on those removed from personal contact with him. Because of this basis of judgment, he was very slow to conclude that any given missionary was inefficient and ought to be recalled. He would usually want to give the man another chance. His position was very difficult, for the final word lay with the bishops in the field; but Lloyd's influence on the bishop was generally for leniency.

Some men thought him a dreamer and therefore distrusted him as an administrator. He always wanted to attempt what ought to be done, trusting that the money would somehow be found. But in Lloyd's case this was not just a vague trusting to luck. It was deliberate, profound faith. His deepest conviction, often put to the test in his own private affairs as well as in those of his parish and the Board, was that if God laid a task upon an individual or a group He would in some way make it possible for them to fulfil His will. Lloyd was quite prepared to admit that the final result might be something entirely different from what one had in mind when one began. One's dreams might be broken and one's hopes shattered. But through frustrations and enforced readjustments of vision, one would be enabled to achieve the goal God desired. And that was the only important goal. Consequently, the thing to do was to start toward so much as one saw with whatever material might be at hand, leaving to God the provision of what was necessary to complete the work. By constantly urging the Board into new ventures Lloyd caused the Treasurer and financial men many worries; he incurred deficits; he ran risks. But the result was a work expanded to a degree that would never have happened if more cautious policies had been adopted.

Lloyd's greatest gift as an administrator was his influence

over men. To those who worked with him in the office he communicated what he saw. When their spirits flagged he revived them by his own faith. When they were weary, his example spurred them to give that extra effort. He unified them into an harmonious, mutually-devoted team. It was not easy. When Bishop Burleson went to "281" in 1930 Lloyd wrote him, "You will find out how often I had to exercise myself in breathing through my nostrils, because you have got to learn how to let the other fellow do it in his way and yet persuade him that your way is the only way *he* wants. . . . And what you have got to do further, as I see it, is to make those fellows love each other so that each will want the other to have his way and all pull together so that the Church will see in the office an exhibit of what the whole Church ought to be like." That he made men love each other and pull together, that he persuaded them that his way was the way *they* wanted things done, was due to a large degree to his concern for them individually.

But probably it was due chiefly to prayer. Lloyd prayed for his associates daily, at times hourly. Every day at noon he led them in corporate prayer in the chapel. Nothing could keep him from that service. Neither the President of the United States nor the Archbishop of Canterbury were important enough to interfere with that rendezvous. He permeated the whole house and all the work with the spirit of prayer, even to the packing and bookkeeping rooms. He made the Chapel the focal point of "281" rather than the Treasurer's office or his own and thereby, as one missionary wrote the author, "he changed a counting-house into a power-house."

Closely akin to Lloyd's influence over the staff at "281" was that which he exercised over the missionaries. He became

a pastor-at-large to the force. One of his colleagues has recorded that often he saw men go into his office weary, discouraged, broken in spirit, and emerge a few hours later refreshed, buoyant, eager to get back to work. By what magic Lloyd effected such transformations we may not know precisely. One gathers it was largely by an intense sympathy which got under the load his companion was carrying and lifted off much of the weight, by the infection of his unqualified faith in God and in His ultimate victory over every opposition, by his faith in the person to whom he was talking which instilled into that other renewed confidence that by God's help he could do his job. In part it was due also to the fact that he would never let a person drift through difficult situations without decision as to the proper course, and that he would never decide for the other. He brought the other's will into action, and this was sometimes the chief need. Lloyd exercised a wide pastorate among missionaries not only by their visits to him but by his visits to them and by correspondence. To many of them he was like a dynamo to which they were attached by letters, conversation, and prayer, and from which they steadily drew power.

On one of their trips in the West, Lloyd and John Wood were snowbound on a train. There was no food on board and no prospect of quick relief, so they and a few other men fought their way through the storm to the nearest village, secured provisions and returned. Subsequently Lloyd was telling about the episode in such a way as to make it appear that Wood did all the work, when a questioner asked, "And what did you do?" "O, I just held up the lamp." For people at the Missions House and in the fields, Lloyd constantly held up the lamp that they might do their tasks with vision and effectiveness.

3.

Lloyd contributed to the unity of the Churches. We have seen something of his efforts to secure closer coöperation between the missionaries and between the Boards, and also the part he played in inter-Church councils. He did not help in problems of faith and order, but he did assist in creating that atmosphere of mutual respect and of the will-to-unite which was necessary if consultations on the thornier problems were to have any chance of success. By steps like his coöperation with the newly-formed Federal Council, attendance at the Hague Conference and the Panama Congress, he forced the Churchmen who were neither high nor low but rigid Episcopalians of the exclusive sort into steps that paved the way for sympathetic consultations with others. Furthermore, such steps were among the factors that slowly produced some measure of coöperation between the Episcopal Church and various Protestant ones; and the coöperation thus initiated was one element which helped to modify the attitude of some of the Catholic wing who were anxious for reunion with Rome and Orthodoxy but averse to any connection with Protestantism. For the coöperation, while not in the slightest altering their position on the necessity of Episcopal orders as a *sine qua non* of reunion, brought them better understanding and friendship and a more sympathetic examination of the points of difference. By the same token, his genuine friendship and coöperation induced some of the Protestant leaders to view more sympathetically the position of the Episcopal Church. Lloyd was not nearly so prominent a figure in the ecumenical movement as Bishop Brent, but he exerted a definite influence in assisting it.

4.

Lloyd exerted a large influence in making the Episcopal Church a more united body. When he began his career at "281," partisan feeling ran high. The Evangelical wing was suspicious that the Catholic party was disloyal to the Prayer Book, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the heroes of the Reformation; that it was trying to get away from the principle of Justification by Faith Only to a magical sacramentalism. The Catholics suspected that the Evangelicals were prepared to sacrifice the Catholic tradition and Orders and to make the Episcopal Church just another sect. Lloyd did nothing to bring the two groups together theologically, but he played a major part in directing the attention of both groups alike to the task laid upon them by their Master; he was important for shifting the center of attention from doctrinal and ceremonial differences to common responsibility. The new enthusiasm for the mission decreased the tension caused by interpretations of dogma; working together at the same task increased mutual respect and confidence; and this, in turn, brought better understanding, calmer discussion, and a larger measure of agreement on areas that had once been given over to hopeless belligerency. As men worked together at the steadily expanding task they realized the necessity of closing up the ranks that their common effort might be more effective; and this was probably the most important single factor in producing the far greater degree of unity that characterized the Episcopal Church in 1919 as compared with the situation in 1899. In addition, Lloyd's constant stress on the One Body led some people to realize more deeply that both parties really *were* parts of one body, and this realization greatly helped mutual appreciation.

Again, it would be easy to exaggerate the part Lloyd played in uniting the Episcopal Church. But it seems likely that in the larger perspective of future years, his leadership in the missionary enterprise, the quiet way in which he won the confidence and coöperation of leaders in both camps, and his constant holding aloft the vision of one united, closely-integrated body, was perhaps the most important single influence.

Chapter XI

A PARISH PRIEST AGAIN

I.

BISHOP and Mrs. Lloyd had planned to go away for the first few months of 1920 to rest and readjust themselves to a new mode of life. He was in bad physical condition. The prolonged strain of responsibilities he had carried for twenty years had taken its toll; the way in which he had been beaten in Detroit hurt even though he triumphed over it; to have to give up his work at "281" just at the moment when a new day seemed to be dawning nearly broke his heart. He was as another Moses, watching his people enter a land toward which he had led them with great difficulty but from which he was excluded. He could not help wondering what disobedience he had committed that brought such a penalty. Furthermore, he was approaching sixty-four, with no work and no private income.

The fact that he had no private income was his own choice. He had inherited a small competence but had deliberately given it away. He did this partly to make certain that his mind would not be distracted from serving his Master by worry over investments, partly because of his conviction that a priest should have no other economic security than what was given him by those who valued his ministry and wanted to make it possible for him to continue it, partly because he felt the needs of others were greater than his own. He never regretted his act; he never ceased to think a priest

was better off without private income. As late as 1928 he wrote an undergraduate who had asked for his mature convictions about the ministry, "Once a man cannot think himself happy except in the priest's office, he will find that life has no compensations that are comparable to it, even though it is true that the beginning of his usefulness, and the determining factor in his happiness afterwards, depend upon his deliberately having made up his mind to die a pauper."

He declined the pension the Board has offered him. A man of his age could not expect to be called to fill an exacting executive post such as a diocesan episcopate. It was twenty years since he had been in parish work, and it was doubtful whether many parishes would want a man who combined his defects of age and of long withdrawal from parochial ministry. Though he had said when declining the offer of a pension that he was perfectly capable of supporting himself and his wife, he had considerable doubts if he would be able to find any position. But it did not worry him. He was convinced as ever that if he were prepared to do whatever His Master desired, the Master would provide the means of life.

The trip did not materialize, for Bishop Burch of New York asked Lloyd to help him during the winter by taking some of his confirmation services and by representing him at various gatherings.

One of the churches to which Lloyd went, St. Bartholomew's, White Plains, was without a rector. In the four years of its existence it had been served by three clergymen, none of whom stayed long enough to lay solid foundations. But he was convinced that it was needed in its neighborhood and would perform a very useful ministry if ever its members could be united into an harmonious working unit. Shortly thereafter he called upon Dr. Howard Chandler Robbins,

then dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York. After preliminary conversation he asked:

"Mr. Dean, will you tell me perfectly frankly whether you think that at my age and in view of my long absence from parish life, I am competent to handle a small suburban parish?"

"Why, Bishop, I think any parish would be extremely fortunate to have the services of so wise a pastor as you."

"Then will you do me a favor if you think you can do it with a clear conscience? There's a small parish that has recently been organized at White Plains and is without a minister. It is St. Bartholomew's. Very few people there know me, but I suspect that your recommendation would carry weight. Would you be willing to suggest my name to that vestry as a possible rector?"

Dr. Robbins immediately wrote to the vestry. As soon as they heard that Lloyd would consider their parish they called him. So it came to pass that in the late spring of 1920 he again became a parish minister, this time beginning with a communicant list of 244 and an average Sunday congregation of fifty, with a little portable church, warmed in winter by a stove that burned the faces of those nearby while the wind froze their backs, with folding chairs on which the unwary lost their balance and some of which nearly always collapsed when the congregation knelt down. The salary was small, \$1800 a year; but as all of his children were married except John, and as he was at that time rector of the parish of Little Washington, Virginia, it was enough for the Lloyds to live on as comfortably as they desired. He was overjoyed at the prospect of ending his ministry as he had begun it, in a parish so small that his time could be spent almost entirely in pastoral work with individuals. He told his daughter, "I'm

having more fun than ever in my life, running a parish just like I think it ought to be done." Being surrounded by the warm affection of his parishioners, ministering constantly to all sorts of people, being so absorbed in parochial duties that his mind was diverted entirely from "281," was the best thing that could have happened to him.

Lloyd's appearance is difficult to describe. Some features can be put down readily enough. He was of medium height, spare, markedly stoop-shouldered, with a gait that was midway between a walk and a shuffle. In his face people noticed the eyes, like quiet deeps across the surface of which smiles of pleasure or friendliness frequently played, and occasionally flashes of anger or disgust; the unusually wide and mobile mouth above a firm chin; the heavily-etched lines of one who for years had known pain intimately, both his own and that which he had helped others carry; the beautiful, luxuriant white hair.

Yet none of these features, nor all together, give an adequate impression of his appearance. Most people described him as "benign" — one who seemed a kindly, frail old gentleman whose serenity was equalled by his desire to help. The friendly look was reinforced by the completeness with which he gave his attention to any companion and his air of having endless time at his disposal. It was reinforced also by his trick of ending almost every other sentence by the word "eh," pronounced with a rising, nasal inflection that no one can reproduce, and his other habit of making positive statements in a deprecatory tone and with a quizzical, hesitant smile, as though to say, "This is how I see it, but don't take it too seriously because I may be wrong. Think your own thoughts."

In the chancel Lloyd was both natural and dignified: with the naturalness of an older child leading his brothers and

sisters into the presence of their Father and the unconscious dignity that results from profound reverence.

Such was the man who became rector of St. Bartholomew's.

As rector of St. Bartholomew's, Lloyd spent most of his time in calling on people and seeing the many who came to him. The wisdom about human nature that had been maturing for over thirty years made him an invaluable counselor to people of all ages; he had an amazing ability to infect others with his own faith; his rebukes were gentle, usually put humorously, always to the point. Older business men and women, perplexed about how to live the Christian ethic in their offices as well as their homes, sought his guidance. Parents in a quandary over how to bring up their children as strong Christians gained new light on their problems from his experience. Young married couples gave him their confidence as they realized his intuitive understanding of their hopes and problems, the wisdom of his counsel drawn out of his own experience of marriage and of the struggle to make both ends meet. They wanted to see more of him. They wanted their friends to know him. He and Mrs. Lloyd were in constant demand as dinner-guests both at the houses of the few rich parishioners and the many struggling ones, and his whimsical tact frequently put young hostesses at ease who were nervous at having a bishop to dine for the first time, and perhaps still more nervous at having one with friends of the country-club set.

The youngsters loved Lloyd. He used to say with a chuckle that one of the greatest compliments he ever received was when a five-year-old girl in White Plains stopped him as he passed her in the street one day to tell him solemnly that she named her newest and biggest and most beautiful doll "Bishy

Lloyd"; and he would sometimes go on to speak delightedly of the embarrassment caused her parents a short time afterwards when he was dining with them by her coming in and complaining that "Bishy Lloyd's petticoats won't stay up right."

He lived opposite a school of some thirty children ranging from eight to fourteen years old. Often he might be found strolling around the grounds with some of them, helping them with the little plots of flowers or vegetables they had to care for; his white head bent close to theirs, entering into their chatter as completely as he would into the serious talk of his contemporaries, enjoying their vivacity and directness as much as the leisurely wisdom of philosophers. This school attended St. Bartholomew's Church every Sunday morning, filling the front pews, and he made a point of directing part of each sermon to them. At one vestry meeting it was proposed that they be moved into the small transept that had been added to the original frame church, so that the front pews might be available for some of the families who had just joined the parish. On being asked his opinion of the proposal the Bishop said that if the vestry wanted to adopt it he would not oppose their judgment, but that if it were done he would in the future face that transept instead of the aisle while preaching and reading. The matter was immediately dropped. The children realized how he cared for them and asked him to speak at their special occasions and to dine with them. In later years some of them requested him to marry them or to baptize their children, shyly telling him that things he had said in their childhood had stuck in their memories and helped them through difficult spots.

Lloyd felt responsible for every person with whom he had dealings. The sexton was a negro who said that he had

become an Episcopalian "because the Bishop done tampered with me." Lloyd gave him a Prayer Book and Hymnal which he always kept wrapped in orange-colored felt as a mark of respect for the donor. There was a couple in the neighborhood who had no connection with any Church. When the wife fell sick Lloyd visited her constantly, and as soon as it became evident that she could not recover he began preparing her husband for bereavement. After the funeral the man attempted to give him a fee but the Bishop replied that he never would take money for being a friend. He suggested that if the man really thought the Church had helped him and wanted to express his gratitude, the best way to do it was to contribute to its missionary funds so that others might receive similar assistance.

Lloyd was anxious that the congregation of St. Bartholomew's should become a Church family in fact as well as in theory. He not only urged the people to get to know each other well but he contrived to bring together at various gatherings members who otherwise had little in common, and by his own pervasive friendliness made them feel as friends toward each other. "I could not help becoming a friend of my butcher's after our bishop introduced us to each other one night at church and chatted with us for about half an hour. Somehow, he changed my old feelings without ever saying a word about it." Such remarks could be multiplied. And when, as a result of the rapid increase in membership, some of the parishioners wanted to begin building a larger church at once, he besought them not to be in a hurry. In the small, unadorned, temporary building there had developed a spirit of warm friendliness, of simplicity, and of personal responsibility for filling the services with vitality and reality, which were of far more importance than any amount of architec-

tural beauty or roominess, and he warned them that there would surely be some loss in these attributes if a new and more formal building were erected before they had become permanently woven into the warp and woof of the parish's life.

Lloyd had the chance to try out on a small scale some of the ideas he had been advocating while at "281." One thing was the Every Member Canvass. Week by week he instructed the men and women who were to do the canvassing, talking almost entirely about the function of the Church, missionary responsibility, and the actual accomplishments and needs of the fields. The Sunday upon which the returns were made was turned into a parish festival. The results surprised even Lloyd. An exhibition of his mind was given shortly afterwards. He told the precise amount promised for the work of the national Church. Then the questioner went on, "And how much for parish running expenses?"

"'Pon my soul, I forgot to ask. But y'know, so and so many families have decided to have family prayers and, I being judge, that's more to the point."

Actually enough was raised to cover the parochial expenses and also to pay for the addition to the church building made necessary by the enlarged congregation.

2.

While Lloyd was at White Plains the Prohibition Amendment was in effect. He was strongly opposed to it from the time it was first proposed. It seemed to him psychologically a wrong approach to the liquor problem, and the plea that it represented a moral advance seemed to him sophistry. He could see no moral quality in refraining from drinking when

the law forbade it. At best it was good citizenship; at worst it was an effort to avoid the penalties of arrest and fine. But in spite of his opposition to Prohibition he obeyed the law carefully as long as it was in effect. Not to do so seemed to him bad citizenship, and to be a good citizen was part of a Christian's duty. The patrons of bootleggers were as much the enemies of society as the racketeers they supported and the politicians in whose corruption they assisted. After the amendment was repealed he would occasionally take a glass of sherry at the home of his children or intimate friends, but he never drank anything anywhere else.

Lloyd was in no sense an ascetic. He enjoyed all the normal human pleasures — good food, good drink, good stories, the society of interesting men and attractive women, playing games of skill like bridge and chess or watching other games like baseball. Beauty of every kind appealed to him, especially natural beauty. In his closing years when he lived in New York City he occasionally expressed a wish to live in the country again, "so that I can listen to things grow." Everything about nature filled him with wonder and reverence and delight. Perhaps that was why he was so fond of the verse:

"Who loves his home,
"Who loves the rain,
"And looks on life with quiet eyes;
"Him will I follow through the storm
"And by his hearth fire keep me warm,
"Who loves his home,
"And loves the rain,
"And looks on life with quiet eyes."

God had implanted in man the ability to enjoy and He had filled the earth with enjoyable things. Not to appreciate them was churlish. And this held for things of sense as well as of the mind. Lloyd's major personal indulgence was smoking, chiefly Piedmont cigarettes. When twitted for preferring such "low-brow" ones to the more expensive brands he would tell of the time his cousin, the Bishop of Virginia, asked for a pack of Piedmonts at a cross-roads store only to be informed that they were no longer stocked "because the negroes no longer trade here." Occasionally he played golf, not too well but hilariously. The older he grew, the more he read.

If one part of his philosophy was to appreciate and enjoy what pleasures were available, another was self-discipline. It was a heinous offense to indulge in anything to the point where it became one's master, or interfered with the full performance of one's duty, or hurt other people. It was little short of criminal to over-eat, for that would harm the body and caring for the body as the temple of the Holy Spirit was part of a Christian's duty; furthermore it would give the body control over the will. For one in his position to drink in public or to attend cocktail parties would be to encourage those who abused wine and liquor; it would cause offense to some with whom he was working and so hurt his effectiveness. He practiced temperance in everything.

3.

Bishop Lloyd was elected a member of the Department of Missions of the National Council on his retirement from "281." For a time he made a point of keeping away from the office except to attend committee meetings, lest the influence which he knew he had with the staff should in the slightest

degree interfere with the new regime. His advice, however, was often asked, and he never hesitated to express his convictions even when they went contrary to the new policies. When Bishop Gailor's administration had become securely established, and when it had been made clear to his friends that he would never become the focus of an opposition, he began to drop in for a chat as often as he happened to be in that part of New York. His interest in what was going on in the fields never flagged as long as he lived, nor did his intense concern over the policies that were adopted.

On December 30, 1920, Bishop Burch of New York died. At once the Standing Committee asked Lloyd to take over his schedule of visitations. To the great inconvenience of himself and his congregation, he complied; for he regarded it as an inescapable duty. At a special convention held on January 26, 1921, the Reverend Doctor William T. Manning, rector of Trinity Church, was chosen as Bishop of New York, and shortly afterwards Lloyd was elected senior suffragan. Once more he felt obliged to give up the parochial work which he loved, and on September 15th left White Plains. He was happy at the prospect of again exercising the functions of a bishop, but also he was distinctly sorry not to end his ministry in St. Bartholomew's. One of his friends said, "The whitest thing Arthur Lloyd ever did was to give up his White Plains parish for the suffragan's job."

He had been at White Plains approximately fifteen months. In that short time the average Sunday morning congregation had risen from 50 to 200, and the communicant list from 240 to 280. The contributions for parochial support had increased from \$4,375 to approximately \$9,500, and for missions from \$30 to nearly \$1,450. A new wing had been added to the church building. And this was accomplished in

spite of the fact that he was rarely free to work undistractedly within his parish, because from time to time Bishop Burch called upon his help. Once, to his great amusement, he, a life-long Democrat, represented Bishop Burch at the opening of a Republican State Convention and delivered the invocation with the more gusto, "because I felt the Republicans need all the help they can get."

Chapter XII

THE BISHOP SUFFRAGAN

I.

LLOYD had accepted his election as Suffragan Bishop of New York with a great desire and a high hope. His desire was to put at the disposal of Bishop Manning all the experience and wisdom he had accumulated. His high hope was that his experience, and the judgment he had gained thereby, would be of significant help to Bishop Manning, especially in developing the rural work of the diocese and in increasing the aid given by the diocese to the general Church's mission. Despite the stress and strain which the years had brought to him, he was excited with the enthusiasm and expectancy of a young man as he dreamed of what might be done and of the use which could be made of what the years had taught him.

But the happy expectancy did not last long.

A suffragan bishop in the Episcopal Church has no initiative or independent responsibility. He is an assistant to the Diocesan, subject to the latter's orders. The Diocesan may give him a limited jurisdiction in some specified area of the diocese if he sees fit, but is under no obligation to do so.

When Lloyd was elected suffragan, Bishop Manning assigned him the oversight of the missions and aided parishes in Westchester, Putnam, and Dutchess Counties, and of the special work among the foreign-born. But this was a temporary arrangement, for Bishop Manning feared that if any sec-

tion were permanently under the supervision of one particular suffragan, that section might come to think of itself as a separate entity to the impairment of the unity of the whole diocese. Nor did he accord any administrative jurisdiction to the suffragans because the canons placed the responsibility for the administration of the whole diocese upon the Diocesan and required him to perform all official administrative acts. Though often problems of administration or placement or discipline within their areas were first considered by them, such matters were always referred to the Diocesan for final decision and action, and on several occasions Lloyd was embarrassed by learning through a third person, or even through the newspapers, of changes and appointments that had been made in his archdeaconries. In the first few years he occasionally ventured recommendations about policy or personnel.

Gradually he came to feel that to make such suggestions was useless and not wholly welcomed; that he was expected simply to confirm, ordain, and represent the Diocesan where and when he was told to. Thenceforward he refrained entirely from making suggestions about the work of the diocese. In occasional conversations with a very few intimates he would reveal his sorrow that he could make no use of whatever wisdom he had learned, for experience seemed to him the only thing he had to contribute. The duties actually assigned to him could have been done better by a younger man. But when his junior colleague, Bishop Shipman, gave vent to his feeling of frustration Lloyd would say to him, "Son, keep your chin up and breathe through your nostrils."

Not only were the suffragans given no initiative or responsibility, they were not free to arrange their own engagements. On one occasion Lloyd was politely rebuked for having con-

firmed a person in the Chapel at the Church Missions House without having first secured the Diocesan's consent. Bishop Manning made out the schedule of visitations both for himself and for them. The theory was that each of them should go to different parts of the diocese in rotation, but the pressure of business kept him from getting outside Manhattan except on rare occasions, so that Lloyd did practically all the visitations in Westchester, Putnam, and Dutchess Counties. In addition, he was regularly assigned a certain number of city engagements, and he had to hold himself in readiness to fill any that Bishop Manning might be unable to meet. It pleased him that most of his Manhattan visitations were to the smaller congregations and missions. The schedule was supposed to be made out quarterly, but sometimes he was not informed of his Sunday engagements until the preceding Thursday or Friday.

Nor could Lloyd make engagements outside the diocese without the Diocesan's consent, since he never knew what might be planned for him on any given day. For one reason this situation caused him real grief. In the early years of his suffraganate he received many invitations to speak on behalf of the general Church's mission in neighboring states. Almost all of these he had to decline. As a result, the invitations grew steadily fewer. He regretted deeply that he had to forego this, his favorite work. "For years I have had no touch with the real work the Church was sent to do," he wrote one friend.

For a man of sixty-five, who had had the responsibility of the presidency of the Board of Missions, to be put in such a position seemed to many of his friends an indignity. But the last thing Bishop Manning desired was to hurt his assistants. He simply felt that the canons laid upon him the sole admin-

istrative responsibility, that he had to follow such policies as commended themselves to his best judgment, and that if he were to fulfil his duty effectively the suffragans had to do as he told them. In addition, he was genuinely fond of Lloyd, as was shown in his address at a memorial service after Lloyd's death and in his remark to the author, "I loved Bishop Lloyd as I have loved few men." He appreciated deeply Lloyd's humor, his depth of faith and integrity of character, his friendliness and loyalty.

For his part, Lloyd had profound respect for Bishop Manning's courage and ability, and served him with complete loyalty. The Diocesan unfortunately alienated some of his clergy, and many of them came to Lloyd to pour out their woes; but always he would try to make them see the reasons for Bishop Manning's actions. When difficulties of clergy or vestries were brought to him as the first court of appeal, or as a very wise friend and advisor, he was careful never to trespass on the Diocesan's prerogatives. Though frequently implored to become the leader of an opposition, he always rebuffed any such suggestion, insisting that Bishop Manning was the head of the diocese and that the duty of all, clergy and laity alike, was to support his policies. And never would he allow criticism of Bishop Manning to go unrebuked. To one who wrote in anger he replied, "You don't know him. Don't judge Bishop Manning by newspaper reports. See in him a man who stands for what he believes to be the truth and is not afraid. That is the only thing any of us can do." It is not too much to say that Lloyd's unqualified support of Bishop Manning against all detractors played a considerable part in preserving the unity of the diocese in the troubled first few years of the latter's episcopate.

Despite Lloyd's respect and loyalty to Bishop Manning he

by no means saw eye to eye with him in all matters. One was the Cathedral.

When Bishop Manning was consecrated, the Cathedral which had been begun fifty years previously was barely one-quarter finished. With considerable reluctance he came to the conclusion that it was his unpleasant but inescapable duty to complete it. Once having reached that conviction, he set to work on the task with characteristic vigor and ability. A great drive for funds was held. Millions of dollars were received. The nave was built.

From all this Lloyd remained aloof. He had a serious question as to whether it was right to put so much money into a building when the mission work was suffering for lack of funds, and he could not approve the methods used in the drive. Sound business methods and thorough organization he favored heartily, but he did not like what seemed to him flamboyant publicity and commercial salesmanship. The Lord's work ought to be presented quite simply. If it was right, people would respond. If they did not respond, it was a sign that the plans ought to be reconsidered. And, lastly, he wondered what contribution the Cathedral would make when finished. Would it be more than a glorious monument? The one reason he saw for any cathedral, large or small, was that it should serve as a convincing witness to Christ, a place where the troubled in spirit could find consolation and power, a center for active service to human needs. He was so concerned that the existing structure should serve these ends that he did not care about enlarging the building.

Lloyd was criticized severely by some of the more ardent "Low-Churchmen" in the diocese. "He ought to stand up to Bishop Manning and ensure that the non-Catholics get a fair break," one man put it. This was an absolutely unjust criti-

cism. It was caused largely by the disappointment of some who had voted for him under the impression that he would be a partisan Low-Churchman, a thing Lloyd never was. In point of fact, he agreed with Bishop Manning's general position on some points when strong Protestants expected him to differ. Again, even when he did disagree with the Diocesan's policy, he was quite unable to influence it. And thirdly, he did not hesitate to make his dissent quite evident when what he regarded as vital issues were at stake.

Gradually Lloyd came to accept the limitations of his position. In the last few years of his life he was for the most part well content not to be burdened with executive responsibility while still able to confirm, to preach, and to have a pastoral ministry. But the old feeling of frustration crept back periodically, and he offered his resignation three times. He was grateful for the extreme courtesy with which Bishop Manning declined even to consider it.

There were two junior suffragans during Lloyd's incumbency: Herbert Shipman from 1921 till his death in March, 1930; Charles K. Gilbert from October, 1930, till Lloyd's death. Both of these men respected and loved him extravagantly, and Lloyd was devoted to them. Association with them was one of the most pleasant features of this period of his life.

Lloyd's outward activities consisted entirely of a succession of episcopal visitations, pastoral activities, meetings with leaders in his archdeaconry, correspondence, and service on various committees and boards. He was particularly interested in the work of the New York City Protestant Episcopal Mission Society, and devoted a good deal of time to its affairs. There were no spectacular matters in which he had a prom-

inent part, no difficult decisions he had to make. He was forced to be a spectator to the larger movements around him, except for such connection as he had with them through correspondence and conversations with people who consulted him.

2.

Throughout his ministry in White Plains and the first two years as suffragan, Lloyd's mind was much occupied by his son. In the fall of 1919 John Lloyd had taken charge of the parish at Little Washington, Virginia. His parents knew that he suffered from some sort of bronchial trouble but did not know whether it was serious. In the spring of 1921 he came to New York to see a specialist. His mother accompanied him to the doctor's office and from his conversation learned for the first time that he had been gassed. For nearly a year John lived in a hospital and with his parents in White Plains. Then it was suggested that the best thing for him would be outdoor life in a warm climate. The Bishop gave him what money he could raise. In partnership with his brother-in-law, Charles Symington, he bought a peach orchard near Pinehurst, North Carolina, where he lived till the winter of 1923.

Had John followed the regime prescribed by the doctor, with much rest and no work at all except on the orchard, he might have recovered entirely. But the nearest parish, ten miles away, was without a minister, and he was asked to conduct occasional services. Having inherited his father's pastoral instinct in full measure, he could not rest content as long as he knew that there were people only ten miles away who had neither pastoral care nor regular services. Little by little he increased his work until the time came when he rose

every Sunday morning at six, had an early service of Holy Communion, superintended the Sunday School, conducted Morning Prayer and preached at eleven, in the afternoon made a round of calls, and preached again at night. Occasionally he was called on during the week for emergency ministrations. He was unable to stand this activity, and in the winter of 1923 had to go to Norfolk.

Early in June, on the advice of physicians that John needed a high, dry climate, Lloyd took him to Colorado Springs. He showed decided improvement for a fortnight, then suffered a relapse and died within forty-eight hours. Lloyd wired the family in New York, "John went home this morning." He would not use the word dead; it seemed too negative.

In the hope that something might be learned which would be of benefit to other victims of gas, Lloyd had a post-mortem examination conducted at once. Then he journeyed with the body to Alexandria where it was buried in the Ivy Hill Cemetery.

As soon as people learned of John's death, letters began to arrive. General Lejeune wrote most highly of his character and ability, saying that he knew of no one—officer, enlisted man or chaplain—who had exerted a larger influence in any regiment for morality and religion than had John in his. Officers and privates of his ambulance company, fellow students at university and seminary, sent messages of condolence in which they tried to express what he had meant to them. One was particularly significant. After saying how greatly John had helped him through various difficulties, the correspondent added that though John had given his friendship without stint and though many men had told him the inmost secrets of their lives, especially on the eve of major

engagements, none of them felt they really knew him for he never spoke of his own intimate matters. They regarded him as at bottom a lonely man. When the Bishop read the letter he remarked to a daughter, "That's perfectly natural. He was my son."

John's death was a sharp and abiding sorrow to his father, the extent of which was revealed to his family by the fact that he rarely spoke of him again until shortly before his own death. It hurt too much. Not that there was any lack of faith that all was well with the boy, but there was an ache in his heart that never wholly healed. None but his own immediate family ever guessed how severe the blow was. To have shown his pain would have been contrary to his philosophy that a man must carry his own troubles with the help of the Lord. Of course he was disappointed that a most promising ministry was cut off at its very beginning and that his only son should die unmarried, thus ending his branch of the name; but the worst pain was the loss of his most intimate friend. Never were two people more congenial. One of his daughters said that for each perfect contentment consisted in being in the same room with each other, "smoking and exchanging an occasional grunt." Words were not needed between them for they were completely at one. Aside from his elder brother John, his son John, and possibly his Seminary classmate Mead Clarke, no man had ever been admitted to the innermost sanctuary of Lloyd's life. There were barriers beyond which even his cousin Beverly Tucker and his co-worker John Wood, both of whom he regarded as very close friends, never passed. He, too, at bottom was a lonely man, and he had treasured the intimacy that had developed between his son and himself. After John's death there was no man privy to his deepest thoughts and feelings.

In his relation to the diocese as a whole Lloyd was primarily an episcopal visitor, a harmonizer, and a pastor.

All the parishes welcomed his visitations heartily. Nothing could portray better his effect on a congregation than the following story narrated by an eye-witness, Miss M. N. Betticher.

One warm Easter morning, Lloyd visited a small, poor church in the city. He always went to such places by subway or street-car, for it seemed to him positively wrong to ride up in a taxi to a congregation no member of which could possibly afford such a luxury. Time and again his son-in-law tried to put a car at his disposal but he always declined it. To go to a city church in such state would be worse than going in a taxi; to use it for country visitations when he could reach his destination by train would equally be to put himself above the level of the poorer parishioners.

As he walked up the street in front of this particular city church, he noticed that it had been blocked off by the police as a play-ground for children. They were playing hop-scotch, marbles, tops, and jump rope immediately in front of the church door. A bit up the street a ball game was going on; on the other side, a hockey match. The laughter and shouts of the children resounded inside the church. Through the open door a kitten strolled in, wandered up to a front pew and went to sleep. A puppy lay down in the doorway.

Lloyd entered the chancel with the rector. Just before the sermon the latter called attention to some calla lilies in the altar vases which had been brought by a former parishioner who had returned to his boyhood church for this service. Flowers on the altar were rare in that church.

Lloyd went into the pulpit and looked intently around the congregation. Everyone was carefully dressed; but everyone looked tired or ill, over-burdened or under-nourished. The children were well-behaved, but they were pale and thin. The Bishop looked at the sunlight streaming in through the open door. Then he began his sermon, trying, as was his custom, to speak of the conditions of the particular group of people in front of him. He spoke of the darkness of Good Friday and the glorious sunlight of Easter; of the enormous stone that seemed to mark the end of hope and the risen Christ revealing His power and love; of the legacy He left to those who followed Him through Good Friday to Easter, "My peace I give unto you." Then he characterized the strain and the uncertainty, the dangers and small pay of their daily work, as the darkness through which God would help the worshipers to pass into the sunshine of His realized love and joy. He mentioned the conditions that exhausted the strength and courage of mothers (especially their inability to provide for the urgent needs of their children) and, while saying he could not change them, assured them that the sunlight of God's love would someday break through every darkness, and that faith in Him would enable them to live in His peace day by day till the difficult times ended. As he talked, tense faces relaxed and strain gave way to peace.

The service went on; so did the sidewalk hopscotch, marbles, and laughter. In the middle of the church sat a mother holding a baby. She was noticeably fatigued; but quite as noticeable was her growing comfort. In front of her sat a friend who whispered to her, "Are you going up to Communion?"

"No, I can't leave the baby. But I wish I could go."

A stranger sitting behind her leaned forward and said, "I

shall be very glad to hold your baby for you while you go to the communion rail."

The mother answered, "Thank you kindly, Ma'am, but he'd yell something awful if anyone else took hold of him. Maybe I can go some other time."

The stranger then suggested, "Take the baby with you. You can hold him in one arm and manage all right."

"Oh, I wouldn't dars't; he (nodding toward Bishop Lloyd) wouldn't like it."

"Yes, indeed he would. He's very fond of children. He knows all about babies because he has sixteen grandchildren. He would feel badly if he knew you were missing your Easter Communion."

The mother nudged her friend. "I am going up."

The friend asked, "What will you do with the kid?"

"Take him along. *He* won't mind if he has sixteen grandchildren."

Rapidly but quietly this bit of news circulated among the women in the congregation, and several mothers went to the rail with their babies in their arms.

So, in a small, dark church, whose Easter flowers were two vases of lilies brought by a visiting friend, and whose Communion music was the happy noise accompanying side-walk hopscotch, marbles, tops, ball, jump-rope, and hockey, Lloyd administered the Chalice to weary and heavy-laden people to whom he had brought Easter peace and joy. Was it by accident, or because of some intuition, that as he came to this mother and her baby, his voice grew stronger and suddenly filled the whole Church with the closing words of the sentence of administration, "And be thankful."

Quite as important as his visitations was Lloyd's ministry of interpretation. He was a harmonizer who tried to make

different groups understand each other. In the diocese of New York partisan feeling ran high between the so-called "high" and "low" Churchmen. Nearly every clergyman was definitely aligned with some party. Lloyd resolutely refused to be a member of any party, to the keen disappointment of the Low Church partisans who had voted for him because they thought he was one of themselves. He wrote a young clergyman, "For fifty-two years I have been trying to avoid seeming to identify myself with any party in the Church because I am persuaded that once you add an *ism* to anything you have destroyed the truth of it and become a partisan"; and to another, "Never allow yourself to be identified with any group just because the penalty is that you will find yourself studying to prove you are right instead of trying to find out what is true with our Lord as your teacher." To his mind the disputes were largely over secondary matters, or over matters where there could be no certainty, or on points where differences of interpretation and practice were permissible. So he urged all men to respect the views of others and agree to differ, while coöperating in the great missionary work committed to them.

Because Lloyd was so manifestly evangelical in his type of piety, his missionary concern, and his dislike of exaggerated ceremonial, he was able to commend a relatively "high" view of the ministry to Low-Churchmen; and because he set great store by the Apostolic succession and the Eucharist he could commend the evangelical preference for simplicity in externals and for "naturalness" in devotional practices to Catholic Churchmen. Above all, because everyone trusted his integrity, his devotion to Christ and the Church, revered him as a wise and mellowed Christian, and loved him as a friend, he could persuade most people to do as a favor to himself

what otherwise they would not do. One staunch Anglo-Catholic, whom he was trying to dissuade from a course that was likely gravely to annoy other clergymen, said, "Bishop, I totally disagree with what you ask. If anyone else asked it, I would refuse. But I can't refuse you." This same man said to one of Lloyd's daughters shortly after the Bishop's death, "Your father was one of the few men who really knew what the Church is. I had to see him every so often to be reminded that it's not an organization but a family." To a militant Low-Churchman who had written a caustic article about Anglo-Catholics, Lloyd wrote, "I confess that I care enough to wish you would not publish it, and that is the reason why I have done with you what I would never have done with any other man. Ordinarily I should have put the paper in the wastebasket and let it go. But I know you can help if you will resist the temptation to say cheap things that sound clever. Now I know you are mad. Take a long breath and love me again and do what I say." The man acquiesced.

In one especial way did Lloyd's conciliating position manifest itself. Bishops Shipman and Gilbert both felt very strongly on matters of extreme ceremonial and refused to wear copes or mitres. Consequently Bishop Manning asked Lloyd to visit parishes where such vestments were desired. Lloyd disliked them intensely; but he went, and, after protesting smilingly to the rector, would put them on. He did so partly because he would not be a party to controversy over "such trivial matters" and partly "because I'd be willing to put on the kitchen oil-cloth or to stand on my head if thereby I can gain a hearing for the Gospel."

Chapter XIII

THE PASTOR AT LARGE

I.

THE GREATEST sphere of usefulness and the principal source of happiness Lloyd found in his work as suffragan bishop was a wide pastoral ministry. He exercised it partly in conversations and even more in correspondence.

His office and his apartment became informal confessionals. Clergy came to see him constantly, sometimes for advice, sometimes to unfold weary burdens, sometimes to blow off steam. He was always attentive and sympathetic, but never soft. When the man's problems were out in the open and the best course had become clear, Lloyd would hold him up to it no matter how difficult. Usually he would follow the conversation with a letter to clarify and impress what he had been urging. Thus, to one who complained of being misrepresented, he said, "We have nothing to do with what may hit us. It is bad business even to think about it because it keeps us from enjoying the present minute. But all will be well, and I can think of no better satisfaction in a man's life than to know when the end comes that he never squealed."

To another who complained bitterly of having been wronged he wrote, "The only thing that is necessary for us is to see that we ourselves are faithful, no matter what the other man may do. The natural result of this attitude of mind must be that one finally comes to realize the awful danger that the one who did the injury is in. Then one begins to

pray for the man who had injured him just because one is afraid on that man's account, and the end is that one's bitterness disappears. . . . Everything passes. The measure of our stature is determined by the serenity with which we go forward, bringing charges against no man, realizing that at best we ourselves can never be faithful as we should like to be, or wise in the use of what has been entrusted to us."

Missionaries on furlough found an ever ready welcome in his office or home. To those in distress at being unable to take advantage of great openings for lack of money he would talk of the results that could be achieved by the quiet witness of a life utterly devoted to God and expending itself in serving the needs of men. "You may seem to do very little; you may see apparently wonderful chances to extend Christ's kingdom go by default. But if you and your colleagues are true, the Blessed One will work through you in a way you can't know and deep, lasting foundations will be laid for His Church." To one who was nearly heartbroken at what he could not do, Lloyd said, "God must think highly of you to let you share so fully in His Son's suffering. Perhaps your very heartbreak will do more for the Kingdom than thousands and thousands of dollars could enable you to do."

Among the many lay folk who came to see him about a great variety of problems, money-seekers were common. Most of those who came into the Cathedral for such help were referred to him. It was almost impossible for Lloyd not to give money to anyone who convinced him he was in need; and Lloyd was not hard to convince. The sums he gave away without detailed checking of stories would shock any proper social worker. It was quite a problem to his secretary, for she knew how often his other benefactions kept him in financial stringency. Again and again he would persuade relatives or

friends to give jobs to men who appealed to him. Sometimes such men turned out to be unreliable or lazy or even crooks. When informed that one of them had turned out badly he would sigh in disappointment and remark that he was sorry, but that he would rather trust a man and be let down than not trust and lose a chance to help. The more degraded the person who came to see him, the more courteously Lloyd would receive him, following his own maxim, "A Christian never has an excuse for not being courteous. If he is a real Christian he will reflect his Master." To many a man whom harsh treatment had taught to think of himself as a "bum," Lloyd's courtesy was worth more than gold. One such person to whom he had been unable to give a cent but to whom he had talked for over an hour, said to his secretary as he went out, "The Bishop didn't have any money in his pocket to give me but he gave me something worth much more. He gave me back my self-respect."

Some people he followed for years. One old man dropped in by chance to a reception given in a parish house after a Confirmation service. He had been a Churchman as a boy but had lost all connection with the Church and any living faith. But he was immensely struck by the Bishop's friendliness. A few weeks later he wrote asking for help. Lloyd invited him to his office. When the man did not come, he investigated and found out he was sick. So he went to see him in his tenement boarding house. The man was amazed that a bishop should come to such a place. When he recovered he went to see Lloyd who questioned him, learned he had been an engraver, and drew out enough of his own money to set him up in business. The man was just getting on his feet when he was burned out. Not daring to ask for help again he said nothing and got a job with a bootlegger. Lloyd had

talked very little to him about Christianity, but his conduct had stirred the long dormant faith and conscience. The man became uneasy about bootlegging and wrote Lloyd, telling him of the fire and asking whether he ought to keep the job. Lloyd wrote back at once urging him to quit such business, expressing regret that he could not help him financially, saying it were better to starve for a while than to ruin one's self-respect. The man heeded the plea. Lloyd gave him no money for several months but kept in very close touch with him, holding him to his resolve not to bootleg, keeping up his spirits through the terrible poverty. When the man had showed his determination Lloyd helped him slightly and got him another job. Soon he fell ill and lost his work. Lloyd then offered to get him admitted to an old man's home; and when he politely declined, saying he would rather starve than be a public charge, Lloyd applauded vigorously. For several years more he helped the man find work enough to keep himself. His friendship, in addition to occasional conversations about the Christ, led the man to a complete recovery of his faith and to regular membership in the Church. The friendship and pastoral care lasted till his death.

2.

Lloyd exercised a great pastoral ministry through the mails, as well as by conversations. Not only every letter but every Christmas or Easter card was at once acknowledged by a note, for this he thought gave him an opportunity of keeping in touch with many people he could not talk to. Since nothing more clearly reveals his basic convictions about Christian life than these letters, they deserve extended notice.

Many of his letters were written to people in discouragement or pain. When dealing with such people Lloyd tried to convey certain convictions. Primarily, he urged that the most important thing to do was to recall that one is responsible to God alone; what humans think of one is irrelevant, for only God knows the full facts of one's circumstance, one's motives and aspirations. A letter to a noted Hebrew scholar brings out this emphasis.

"Under what you write there is a note of depression, and this after you have spent a long life trying to serve your fellow-men. That One who knows declared that to serve one's fellow-men was to do the will of God. Why should you be discouraged if that is what you have really been after?

"I cannot be of use to you. But the One who called Abraham is the same today that He has ever been; and the One who recognized Job will recognize us if we reflect Job's integrity."

To sufferers who might be presumed to have spiritual maturity he frequently wrote in the vein illustrated by a note to the struggling wife of a sick clergyman. "The most mysterious thing perhaps in human experience is that in proportion to the risk of losing those things on which we have been depending, we come to see clearly the real things that support. It is the same old story of suffering being the best of all gifts.

"Sometimes I get the impression that Our Lord allows His servants to be sharers in His sufferings in proportion to their ability to understand. Is not this the reason why being permitted to suffer is the highest honor that can be accorded us?

"However, it is into very deep places that such thoughts lead us. I suspect the most practical thing for us is to thank

God that in our sufferings we have been able to see the light, and our surest wisdom is to ask to be permitted to keep the impressions and the clear conviction that comes to us in such experience."

Can any doubt that the last paragraph was the expression of his own practice?

Courage to Lloyd was beyond price. "I believe if we take for granted that kindness is the fundamental condition of right living, courage is the finest thing that anybody can have. The older I grow the more it seems to me that this is what is meant when the Church makes the bishop ask for 'ghostly strength' for those who are confirmed. I wonder if that is not the right definition of courage. . . . We do not want a haven. We want divine strength that will make us able to fight the things that hinder until we come at last into the completeness that awaits."

In 1933 a young woman who lived in another city, a close friend and the child of close friends, wrote Lloyd that due to the complete business prostration where she lived her husband had lost his job, could find nothing in his profession, and was reduced to driving a taxicab. Consequently, they had been forced to exchange their very comfortable home and rather luxurious manner of life for a room in a cheap boarding house. He was desperate and nearly broken in spirit. Recently he had spoken frequently about going to New York to recoup his fortune. She was thinking of leaving him, taking her baby back to her parents' home and embarking on some new career. In his answer, after saying that it was very hard for professional men to find employment in New York, Lloyd went on, "It certainly looks as if things had broken wrong for you, but do not allow them to

make you afraid. The only thing that can damage anybody in this life is to let panic deceive them into trying to escape from what is a natural obligation. You know natural obligations are determined by the circumstances of our life.

"I think your man must be a man. To drive a cab is no fun. . . . He will get another job if he is the man he seems to be. It is a wonderful thing how a man's character and personal force are indicated not by what he is doing but by the way he does it.

"In any case, stick together. Don't let him come here. That will only be to run away. Cowards run away. There is just as good a chance to get a job in one place as in another for the man whom the community needs, and maybe someday his place will call him back again. To run away from his obligations on the plea of looking for a job means bankruptcy.

"You may starve—yes; but you can starve together and be smiling when the end comes.

"The only thing that can break you will be to allow yourself to substitute something that is cheap for what is real, and in this case the cheapness would be indicated by comfort arrived at at the price of your integrity. When people get married it is for better or worse. It is not for amusement, and the law of the nature of things demonstrates that when two people stick together nothing can hurt them, though they may seem to be ground to bits.

"It is hard for you to believe that what I say is true. But I am speaking out of long years of observation. I have never seen anybody personally hurt who was not a coward, though I have seen many strong men broken. The difference was that the breaking of the strong man demonstrated the value that he had had as a man; whereas the people who get by

because they successfully escape life's obligations turn out to be an added factor in the load that the community has to carry.

"Say your prayers. Ask for the courage to face what you have got and don't ask to be delivered from it. You will get out of it if you and your man are the kind of stuff that makes a man drive a cab rather than do nothing."

When writing to some people Lloyd's effort was to help them see their situation in different light. Thus to one in an old man's home, he wrote, "My impression of the East View is that now-a-days it is very attractive, and while you are surrounded by companions you did not choose, every time you meet one of them you have an opportunity to make that one glad he is alive. So you have a useful occupation every day.

"You know everything in life depends on one's point of view, and I believe the high privilege of a Christian is that he has a chance to make even ugly things beautiful because Our Lord will show him how.

"Think about these things. I am old also, and I know that what I say is true."

Shortly before he died Lloyd wrote a note that illustrates an approach frequently used to people whose distress was primarily inward. "I wish I could help you to the kind of serenity to which everyone who follows Our Lord has a right. Contradictions in life are inevitable as long as men are mortal, but one never has to meet them alone. Whether we know it or not, Himself is there to help us bear it, and we have His assurance that even though we are brought to the same end Himself met, in the end we shall rejoice.

"I know how hard this is to keep in mind when everything has seemed to fail us. The joy is in the fact that whether we know it or not it is true and in the end we shall know it. . . .

Do what you can to be patient, and ask Him to make you realize that Peace He gave you is your very own possession."

3.

Innumerable letters reveal Lloyd's convictions about the Christian way of life.

His primary emphasis was that the Christian's was a life of faith. Consequently he was suspicious of mysticism which he identified with its more extreme manifestations. The so-called mystic experiences seemed to him usually the result of peculiar psychical constitution or condition. Certain types of people longed for it because they wanted something which affected the senses. It gave a spurious feeling of security. The study of it and the effort to practice it were escape mechanisms. It had nothing to do with Christianity.

If one really trusted, one trusted that the Christ was ever with one whether or not one were emotionally aware of His nearness. If one were deliberately disobedient the knowledge of His presence was rightly a source of fear. It always was a mighty incentive to try to live as He showed. But if one were trying to obey, it was the source of joy and peace. For one knew one could always learn from Him, and that no matter what disasters occurred His supporting arm was available. Spiritual maturity meant growth in the realization of His presence, in the habit of communion with Him frequently during the day and about any subject, listening for His counsel. In reply to a letter, in which an old friend referred to Lloyd's brother John as the man of unsurpassed faith, Lloyd wrote:

"I have always felt the difference between my brother and most men was not in that he possessed more faith than

others, but that to him the companionship of the Master was just as real as your friendship. I think that is what made the difference.

"We have all got it (the companionship) if we would but realize it. I think the reason He gave us the Sacrament was in order that we might have tangible witness of that which we have always present."

If one had faith and realized His presence, one prayed. "So far as I can make out prayer is a state of mind when, realizing God's presence, one studies to know His will in order that one may do it. Following this come words and songs and acts, but these are only the response by which we make real in our experience the thing which is pure spirit."

The essential thing about prayer was to realize and respond to His presence. Consequently, silent waiting for Him to speak was an integral part of prayer. "The really loving child waits to learn His will. He is the one who decides what He wants you to do, and we ought to try to keep this attitude because, unless we know this, we are apt to miss the chance that comes for doing what He sent us to do in our eagerness to get done what we think ought to be done."

Prayer indeed might be wholly inarticulate. "Don't worry because you have seemed to be without words. . . . The truest thing in your life is that which He gives you — the high privilege of being confident that no matter how inarticulate you may be, nothing can separate between you and His presence.

"It is the high privilege of every human to form the habit of thinking about our Lord as his personal friend, so that it will become more and more a habit to depend on Him, not only to protect us and show us the way to go in but to teach us. I think the relation after a while comes to be entirely

personal, so that you will go to Him and talk with the same confidence and frankness that you feel to your father, expecting to be definitely helped and showed how to do it. It is a question of personal affection after all."

One result of such faith and prayer was inner peace. "Did you ever meditate on the fact that the last word our Lord gave His friends before He went to Calvary was 'Peace,' and the first word He gave them after He came back was 'Peace'? I think this means that this is His bestowal and that nothing can deprive us of it except our choice."

True faith led inevitably to the effort to live as the Master showed. Integrity was the first requirement. "There is only one law which every human must obey, which is that, standing with head bowed in the presence of the Infinite, he should think and do only that which is true as he sees it. This carries with it, of course, the obligation to test what he believes." "Everyone must answer to his own integrity for the fashion in which he orders his life, and no one can judge for another. The only thing any of us can do is to do things as nearly as possible according to our best judgment, trusting to the help which He gives us." "This one thing you want to keep in mind — that whatever you do or whatever you say or whatever expression you wear on your countenance, let it be the very image of you, and not something that other people say is proper."

Essential to integrity was humility, which for Lloyd meant comparing one's self always with Christ and only with Him. To an Italian boy in college whom he had recently confirmed he wrote, "If you will do it this way you will find that you are not tempted to compare yourself with other people but with the One who is your Friend.

"The value of doing it this way is that there is something

in us humans that makes us, when we compare ourselves with other people, always choose someone who cannot do it as well as we can. We like to puff ourselves. But when we stand up by the Master Himself and remember that He is the model we work by there is no danger of getting chesty."

Integrity required courage and self-control. He wrote another undergraduate, "The reason my scheme is useful is because it requires courage and self-control; and I do not believe there are any two other qualities that make for a man's becoming a man like courage and that which makes a man able to compel his body to do what he wants instead of spending himself doing what his body asks for."

Another factor in integrity was the refusal to talk behind a person's back. This note he struck constantly; rarely more forcibly than in the following note. "One thing with regard to your letter I feel as a friend I ought to pass on to you. Such a letter as this ought not to be written about anyone; it should be written to the person concerned in order that he may have an opportunity to set you right if you are wrong. I believe it would be well if you would give me permission to send this letter to the doctor. . . . Useless to say, I shall be glad to see you whenever you come to my office; but please understand before you come that it will not be to criticize anyone. It is my clear conviction that any criticism of a person ought to be made in the presence of that person."

Closely akin to this was the effort to see the best in people.

"Don't talk to me about believing that to love most people is the best thing to do. Recognize it as the only thing to do. You know, if there is anybody you do not love, it is like putting a bit of poison into your system. There is nobody living who is worth such damage to yourself, and nothing that anybody can do to you is reason for your doing a thing that hurts

you. . . . You have not got to make every soul your boon companion, but every soul is human and therefore beautiful. Think about the beauty."

To a too possessive mother he sent this advice. "I wish I could make you believe that the children do not belong to you, and that all you have to do with them is to walk straight before them. Himself will develop them, using the means He sees fit. My observation is that often times the means He uses are very alarming.

"Your chiefest anxiety must be, just because you say your prayers, not lest the children should fail but lest you should seem to lack faith in them. Let them work it out themselves. You started them right I know, and as they come up against the incidents of life they must learn how to interpret them. Some day you will have the joy of seeing them interpret life's experience in terms of reality."

From time to time parents inquired what to teach their children. Two notes show the general line of his replies to such questions.

"Make them to know the measure of fidelity to the Master of us all is the reverence with which we treat our bodies and the respect we have to our obligations.

"If we were to talk for hours the sum of my advice would be: — teach your little child to reverence the Scriptures, asking for the wisdom that will save you from putting questions into the young mind. You know children know the Father without our teaching. What we want to do for them is to give them such safeguards as will save them from the cynicism which they will certainly be confronted with when they get older.

"So I say to you, teach her to reverence the Scriptures. Let her learn to think of the Old Testament as the record which

shows that nothing happens among men that the Eternal God is not interested in. When she comes to the New Testament, let her learn that this is the record of how the Father revealed to His children the truth about themselves, in order that they might know how to live and escape the distress that not knowing how must surely entail. . . .

"For her better instruction, and that she may know what a baptized person ought to think, teach her the very words of the Catechism. Don't take the trouble to explain to her fully all the meaning. Let her learn the words. As she gets older she will learn the meaning for herself.

"Above all things, save her from believing that the trust committed to the Church was to save her dear little soul from perdition. Rather, help her to rejoice in the help which the Father will give her towards developing all the beauty that He has created in her."

The substance of a great deal of what he tried to convey to people who looked to him as their pastor is contained in a brief letter he wrote shortly before his death.

"Let me tell you a thing I have been thinking about. We have nothing to defend ourselves against because the Word of God is Incarnate. That is the faith of a Christian. The Kingdom of God is set up — not going to be; it is now — and God is ruling in the present.

"We are partners because we are baptized into His Body. Our task is to tell people that they are living in the Kingdom of God and that God is manifest in the flesh and Himself took our sins upon Him.

"All we have to do is by using the means He gave us (the thing we call religion) to learn how to live as He did.

"Our message of hope is that we can grow up into His

likeness. That means completeness after we have finished our task."

4.

Many of Lloyd's finest letters were written to children. To his own grandchildren he wrote very often: at every birthday; at every important time such as Confirmation, entering or graduating from school, the beginning of each school year. When one of them wrote to him he answered by return mail. No man ever was happier in his relation with his grandchildren or more deeply respected their individualities or was more genuinely interested in whatever interested them. To them he gave of the best he had. He spent as much time on letters to them, trying to determine how best to answer each letter or precisely what to say on each occasion, as on the most delicate official Church correspondence. It seemed to him every whit as important to express the truth about their concerns in terms appropriate to their knowledge as to word rightly a proposed canon or a missionary document.

In addition to his grandchildren, Lloyd had many other young correspondents. His greatnephew and namesake, the son of a missionary in Japan, he wrote to often. There were children of old parishioners or friends whom he had met when visiting their parents and with whom a lively friendship had immediately sprung up; there were others whom he had confirmed and who had conceived such a trust in the kindly-faced old gentleman that they had come to tell him afterwards something that was on their minds and had at once been welcomed into the number of his friends. These children were boys and girls, white and black, members of America's most illustrious families and immigrants whose

parents could barely speak English. To all he wrote with equal care and with the deference due to a child of God.

"My only apprehension is that, being young, you will not realize the necessity of taking care of your body. You know that being a Christian means first of all using your body in such a way as will manifest your reverence for it. This means that you will take care of it; that you will exercise it; that you will not make demands on it unwisely or foolishly that will undermine its vigor.

"If I may add one word more, don't let yourself ever feel sorry for yourself, or coddle yourself. Make such demands on your body, whether it feels like responding or not, as you think it ought to meet, without being afraid; and along with this, make your body know that you realize it is the best friend you have. . . .

"Try to form the habit of not trying to think about the Christ at all in the terms of religion; nor worry yourself about thinking of Him in terms of His majesty. Think of Him rather as a mortal man whose friendship is entirely worth earning. Stay with Him, not as an act of religion but because of human congeniality. Watch the way He does it. Observe the fashion in which He approaches people and how He receives people. Hear what He has to say about human contacts. Remember all the time that this is a perfectly normal human relationship and has nothing to do with religion. That comes later. Just personal friendship at first.

"You will be astonished how your attitude toward people changes, and how amazingly interesting even the dull people get, and how interesting even the hateful people are, because they have nothing you want, and your instinctive disposition

is to demonstrate to them the truth about the things that make up your environment.

"Begin, not by trying to do something or to be something, but by just trying to come up close to the Man we call Lord and Master. Instinctively you will study to make yourself congenial to Him, and without your knowing how or when, the transformation will take place which will make you see in everybody something that is interesting and worth while, not because of anything that is in you, or anything that you did, but simply because the scales are gone off your eyes because you associate with One who understands.

"As you know your Friend more and more intimately, you will find that the driving power in everybody is what people call prayers to God. That is really and indeed talking to your Father and getting His ideas about things. Once this gets to be a habit and not a duty you will be amazed at the power you have got.

"And above all, you will never be afraid. That is the worst thing that can come into anybody's life."

When children were about to be confirmed, Lloyd tried to make them understand Confirmation as a witness of God's friendship and to base their faith and life on a broad culture rather than on intensely held ecclesiastical conceptions. For Christian faith was intended to interpret ordinary human experience. If it were to do that, one essential was that it interact with and color all experience and thinking. To hold it as one set of convictions apart from other beliefs was the most fatal of all mistakes. Another essential was that one know as much as possible about the depths and heights of life, for the more one knew of them the more adequately one's faith could interpret life. The great classics and modern

science were essential to teach one about these heights and depths, and consequently were quite as important for developing Christian characters and attitudes as the one-syllable instruction in Church ways and dogmas contained in the ordinary Confirmation manual. He did not try to explain all this to the children. What he wrote to a grandchild is revealing.

"Get in the habit now, son, of thinking of your Confirmation as the sure sign that God is on your side just as your father is. That He believes you can make good and wants to help you do it. That he has given you the Holy Ghost to make you able to use all your gifts in the best way possible and will see you through. If you always think of your Confirmation as witness of your friendship with God it will always be for your inspiration."

To one of his grandsons who was going to Europe with several friends in a summer vacation, Lloyd wrote about the importance of meeting people who were completely different from one's self. "I am sure you will find that the trip will make a great difference to you in correcting your perspective. I believe the most important thing in life is to get away from the notion that nobody can do a thing right unless he does it my way! And every time you come in contact with people who are your equals and don't even know how you go about it and why you should think as you do, is a definite help."

One of Lloyd's deepest hopes was that a grandson should enter the ministry. He often talked about this hope to His Master. He never mentioned it to the boys; for they were human beings, children of God, and therefore they had exactly the same right to reach an independent decision on the matter of life-work that he insisted upon in all matters

that pertained to himself. When they consulted him directly he expressed his convictions about the ministry, but even then used every care not to over-persuade.

"While I know that the man who is permitted to give himself to the priest's office is the most enviable of all men, especially in this day when it presents a challenge that no other occupation I know anything about can compare with, I am persuaded that any man who is a priest and who can think himself happy in any other place is to be pitied. This because unless he assumes the obligations that naturally attach as being essentially necessary if he would do what he undertook to do, these obligations become more and more fetters that will gall.

"Let it wait, but don't finally dismiss it. I am sure that the Church is sorely in need of men in the priest's office who are described by the old-fashioned term 'gentlemen'; men who know what they are giving up; men who have deliberately chosen between the things that make life soft and the things that make life of positive value, so that they will not be honing after the things that money could give; men who are paupers because they have chosen to be paupers and not because they could not earn a living; men who have let go the things that concern themselves in order that they may more definitely bear witness to the Truth upon which civilization depends.

"I know you have all these things in you and that if you gave yourself to this office it would be on this basis. You could not do it any other way and be happy; but don't do it at all unless you find your supreme satisfaction in it.

"I have never forgotten how life seemed to lose all its attractiveness when I decided to give up the reading of the law; but I draw back from telling you how increasingly

grateful I am for having made the exchange lest you think I am trying to persuade you, and I love you too well to do anything that would even suggest that I was trying to do your thinking for you.

"You know I am persuaded that no man has ever lived except the Lord Himself who realized what the power of a man is, but I can almost say that I am equally certain that there is no man who knows that the Eternal is his pattern, and spends his life trying with God's help to use what comes to him instead of being driven by it, but realizes as he goes that his power is limited only by his own courage.

"Stand by yourself, old man. Then you need not worry about what other people do. From time to time let me know how things go, and if you get a chance, give me the pleasure of coming and letting me look at you."

Chapter XIV

HIS MATURED THOUGHT

I.

LLOYD'S letters reveal a man alert to all the main currents of contemporary thought in political, economic, scientific, and historical fields. Of interest in poetry and the arts they show very little trace.

Notice has already been taken of his habit of writing to authors whose books he strongly liked or disliked. In his later years he exchanged letters with writers as different as John Dewey, Ellen Glasgow, Harry Elmer Barnes, Christopher Morley, Julian Huxley, and Walter Lippmann. For a brief time he thought the last named might develop into a major prophet. To Dr. Barnes he protested that he was wasting very great gifts. "It seems to me that your arguments (against supernatural religion) make for flippancy, and from my point of view flippancy is but another name for sacrilege. My conviction is that the fundamental mark of human intelligence is reverence."

After the First World War Lloyd was a strong partisan of the League of Nations and anxious that the United States should cancel the war debts owed to it. Mr. Hoover had won his admiration during the war, and Lloyd gladly voted for him in 1928, as "a courageous man who is honest and who seems to be free from time-serving." But he could not share the latter's optimism. He wrote that the force of human blindness, selfishness, and inertia were so great, and politi-

cians so adept at stirring up group cupidity for their own sakes, that things would surely become much worse, both in America and abroad, before society could be ordered more justly and happily.

After Mr. Roosevelt was elected President, having known him for several years, Lloyd wrote him a whimsical note: "This morning the papers made it clear that practically the whole American people disagreed with my belief that the way of safety was to follow along the old lines. Naturally and contentedly I am surrendering to the majority and am sending this to you to say that it is no small satisfaction to me that the Church has given to the nation one of her sons to serve in the high office to which you have been called. Naturally I think this will be for the blessing of the country. I wonder if your household will let me felicitate them on the honor that has come to their house. I think I know how your mother feels. However, I chiefly want to convey to you my congratulations and to assure you of my sincere desire to follow you as a good citizen." Gradually Lloyd acquired more confidence in Mr. Roosevelt's leadership and became a warm supporter. In September, 1935, he wrote him, "Many times my hair has stood on end just because I could not see the end of the theories proposed but I feel sure things have been going in the right direction just because of the clamor that is being raised by those who believe that old methods must always persist."

Despite this intuition of darker days ahead, Lloyd's deepest feeling was always one of happiness. He was able to contemplate the rise of Fascism and Communism to undisputed power in Italy and Russia, the Japanese rape of Manchuria and the early phases of Nazism, all of which he loathed intensely as reversions to the barbaric stage of human rela-

tionships, and the distress caused for hundreds of thousands in America by the Great Depression, without worrying; not without pain, for the sufferings of others afflicted him acutely, but without any final pessimism. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that his optimism was a profoundly religious one, not a secularist hopefulness. It was because he trusted God unreservedly that he saw no reason for worrying, and could go serenely on his way.

This religious optimism rested on two pillars. One was his belief that mankind was redeemed. The Cross, the Resurrection, and the gift of the Holy Spirit *had* saved men, if they would but accept it; they were empowered to live as Christ showed if they would use the strength made available. And these redemptive acts showed that nothing contrary to God's will could thrive permanently. The calamities of the thirties were only episodes in the long reaches of Time. They were terrible evils, but God would turn them to His own account as He turned the monstrosity of the execution of Jesus to His own purposes. They were not to be compared, in the depth of their evil, with the Crucifixion; they were more like the conquests of Cyrus or the excesses of Henry VIII; and as God had used Henry VIII as His instrument and then eliminated royal absolutism in England, so He would use Communism, Nazism, Japanese aggression, and the Depression for something contemporaries could not understand, and then eliminate them.

The other pillar was his faith that in the character and teaching of Jesus God had made plain what human life was meant to be like. Jesus was "the norm." He showed how life must be lived to avoid destruction. He was not an ideal but the declarer of fact. Consequently, in their search for a way of life that was productive of highest human values

(and Communism at first seemed to him an honest though tragically misguided effort after a civilization which would yield a more worthwhile life for the masses) men were not left groping in the dark. The way had been shown, and when men were taught it so adequately that they appreciated it and followed it, the present calamities would be overcome. The crying need of mankind was the proper presentation of the Revelation.

Increasingly Lloyd deprecated what seemed to him the altogether disproportionate emphasis laid on the Cross in sermons and theological writing. Of course it was vital: but men's part was not so much to talk about it as to accept what it had wrought and embark on the way of life it had made possible. The thing on which people's attention should be kept riveted was the life and teachings of Christ that they might learn thereby how redeemed men ought to be related to one another and to nature. Science and history would show them how these relationships should be expressed more adequately than was possible by men who had not known so much of nature's secrets or of sociology or economics; therefore it was more important to read the sciences, both natural and social, than contemporary theology, most of which seemed to Lloyd to be simply threshing over old straw and either denying fundamentals of the Faith as did the Humanists, or building new systems in which to imprison men's minds as did Barth.

Secure in these two basic convictions that men had been redeemed and that the way had been shown, Lloyd looked toward the future with compassion aroused by what men must face but with perfect serenity as to the outcome. There was terrible suffering ahead all over the world, but suffering could not harm the one who trusted and did his best to obey.

It did not last forever, even if it pursued one to the grave, for on the other side of the grave the faithful would find joy beyond words; the joy of clearer knowledge, closer relationship and fuller service to the Blessed One. And someday the Master would make Himself universally believed. Then, and not till then, would come the society of men's dreams. In the meanwhile there was no room for apprehension; the only thing of fundamental importance was for every Christian to obey the Revelation as best he could and to assist the Church's witness thereto. "The world becomes more and more beautiful, and man's folly and ugliness become less and less disturbing, as I think about all life from this point of view. It makes me wish I were young again so that I could go and tell people what I have found," he wrote Dr. Dandridge in 1935.

For most contemporary novels Lloyd had very little use. Though he was intensely interested in scientific studies of sex and of its influence in human life, and though he expressed approval of Mrs. Sanger's efforts to make available to the poor scientific methods of birth control which the rich could easily learn, yet the wholly unrestrained discussions of sex in novels nauseated him. Nor could he see any excuse for the extremes of "self-expression." On the other hand, the biographical and historical books fascinated him, and the works of the social scientists struck him as invaluable. From such researches "the new techniques needed to make civilization work under these terribly changed circumstances" might be discovered, and men taught how to apply to their problems of corporate life the principles showed in the Revelation.

One thinker who greatly interested him, partly because he showed more concern for history and philosophy than for contemporary theologians, was the Russian exile Berdyaev.

Lloyd read his earlier books as rapidly as they were translated, and read them several times. Shortly after Berdyaev's *End Of Our Time* was published, a young clergyman and his wife called on the Bishop. In the course of conversation he asked them if they had read the book. They replied that they had attempted it but could not in the least understand it. "How often have you read it?" Lloyd asked.

"Once."

"How can you expect to understand at one reading? He is the profoundest thinker today, not a popular novelist. I have been through it all three times, and some parts more, and I think I am beginning to grasp his thought. I being judge, it is worth any amount of work."

In the middle and later twenties the pacifist movements grew rapidly. Various organizations, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, requested Lloyd's support; various publicists like Mr. Kirby Page asked for his endorsement of their views. He opposed the position as strongly as he had during the war. It seemed to him sentimentalism, the fruit of an idealism that did not face the facts of human life. He wrote and spoke against it, receiving as a result several vicious attacks as an opponent of Christ's, a tool of imperialists and capitalists. Only once did he answer such an attack, outlining his views on war and ending, "It will make it easier for you to believe that I believe what I have written if I tell you that our participation in the World War took my only son and that there is no regret attending it."

2.

Most of Lloyd's constructive theological thinking in the last decade and a half was concentrated upon the questions

raised by the problems of Church unity. In his general theological position there was no advance over earlier views, though there were many new applications. But Church unity was more to the forefront among Christians in the years 1925-1936 than at any time since the Reformation, and the general interest coincided with what had always been one of his own chief preoccupations. We have seen already how his stress on the organic nature of Christianity had steadily increased. If the underlying oneness were to be made effective, the questions which divided it into many Communions had to be rethought. So he turned vigorously to a reconsideration of the episcopacy and Orders, of the sacraments and definitions of the Christian faith. He corresponded and conversed at length with men from whom he differed that he might learn from them, both Anglo-Catholics and extreme Protestants. He wrote and preached much on these subjects.

The Catholic who most challenged his thinking was Mr. Charles C. Marshall, with whom Lloyd corresponded for over five years about what were the essential elements which gave a Church the right to call itself Catholic, and of whose letters he wrote, "It is the first time I have gotten anything from anybody that would help me to correct my own emphasis." These letters vigorously disputed three of Lloyd's chief convictions: that the Church should leave men free to formulate their convictions in ways that appealed to them, insisting instead on the necessity of accepting the dogmatic authority given by Christ to the Apostles and by them lodged in the bishops; that men were alienated from the Church by its dogmatic claims and its moral shortcomings, affirming that the only thing which kept men from active discipleship to Christ and membership in His Church was their own sin, usually pride; that the Catholic Church could be defined in terms of believing; obey-

ing, and witnessing to the Revelation given in Christ, arguing forcibly that its constructive principles were "an apostolic Episcopate (dogmatic authority) and Eucharistic worship (sacramental life)." The letters all displayed historical learning and extremely acute reasoning.

During and after the years covered by the Marshall correspondence, Lloyd exchanged many letters with Dr. Peter Ainslee, one of the most eager workers in the cause of reunion, whose conviction was that all ecclesiastical bodies must recognize the equality of all Christians before God, admit to Communion all who believed in Jesus Christ as Master and Saviour, and regard the questions of episcopacy and sacramental regulation as disciplinary matters which each body might determine as it thought wisest.

Through interaction with both types of thought Lloyd became more strongly convinced of certain views. He called his position Catholic and gloried increasingly in the Catholicity of the Episcopal Church, meaning thereby its continuity with the original Church in Palestine. But his conception of Catholicity differed in several respects from that of Anglo-Catholics. Its primary significance for him was continuity of existence and universality in scope. The Catholic and Apostolic Church meant to him the organized, world-wide society of which the continued existence, generation after generation, dated from the Apostles; which held continuously and throughout the world the same faith in Christ that the Apostles held, and professed the same obligation to obey Him; which preserved without intermission from their inception the office of Bishop and the apostolic sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion; of which the function was to witness to the Revelation given in the Christ.

The Revelation was primarily a gift to men and not a new

divine legislation. It effected their redemption and it showed them how they must live to avoid destruction. This most gracious gift of God's was offered freely to all who would accept it by faith, that is, by trust and the effort to obey. Those who responded thus formed the Church. The Church, therefore, was precisely a fellowship of faith and obedience. Membership in this fellowship was an integral part of any full Christianity. The function of the fellowship was so to witness to the Incarnation as to persuade people to trust to that Revelation and to live by it. Belief in the Revelation, obedience to the Revealer, witness to Him: those three things were what primarily denoted the Catholic Church, the Body of Christ.

But the faith which gave one title to membership had to be signified by Baptism. Herein Lloyd broke from the Quakers. An analogy clarifies his thought. A child born of Canadian parents in Canada may be brought to the United States before he is a month old; he may spend all his life in the States, grow to understand and value very highly its distinctive characteristics, and in spirit be a complete American; but unless he goes through the forms required for naturalization he never receives the privileges of American citizenship. So a person might be most Christian in temper and a devout disciple of the Christ, but without Baptism he was not a member of the Church; and unless one were a member of the Church one's Christianity was truncated, one was deprived of the inestimable privilege of the Eucharist. Lloyd was "unwilling to unchurch anyone who is baptized"; and consequently all "Churches" which had the rite of Baptism and were based on trust in and obedience to the Christ were more or less adequate parts of the Church.

But they were very inadequate parts unless they had also

the sacrament of Holy Communion. Though he rejected the dogma of Transubstantiation, he believed unreservedly in the Real Presence of Christ. As the years went by he depended increasingly on it himself. He felt that in it the Blessed Lord touched the faithful worshiper, and that that touch was the source not only of quickened conscience, strengthened will, and clarified vision but also of physical vitality; through it the Lord actually imparted His life. He thought that the Eucharist was the greatest privilege the Church offered, and also an essential help to one who would follow the Master. But, more than this, the Christ had told His followers, "Take eat. . . . Do this in remembrance of me." Obedience to Him therefore involved regular reception of the Holy Communion. Consequently, no group which discarded this sacrament could claim to have more than a tenuous connection with the true Church. But the question of who should celebrate it was a disciplinary matter which the Church was left free to decide, and divergence from the common rule was not enough to unchurch any particular section of those who held the faith and witnessed and baptized.

However, the office of bishop was also of very great importance. The Apostles had been eye-witnesses of the Resurrection, the fact which set forth Jesus as the Christ and was the crucial fact in the Revelation. The Apostles told what they had seen to particular men who thus in their turn became the witnesses to the Resurrection. They told others who followed them in this vital function. These became the bishops. Apostolic succession meant to Lloyd that there existed this office which went back uninterruptedly to the Apostles and which office, by virtue of its unbroken connection with the Apostles, was the principle testimony to

the fact of the Resurrection. The office had no inherent authority in it, either dogmatic or administrative. All authority inhered in the whole Body. Whatever authority the men who filled the office of bishop possessed was what was delegated to them by the Church; and that was a matter which might be altered under different conditions and which each particular branch of the Church was competent to arrange as it saw fit. But the existence of the episcopate was of vital moment, and any section of the Church which was without it was lacking something of greatest value. It was the most significant contribution the Episcopal Church could bring to any Protestants with whom it might unite. Consequently, Lloyd would never agree to any proposal for unity which raised the slightest doubt about the continuation of the office.

In sketching out a plan by which Church unity might be achieved, Lloyd insisted that the fundamental basis must be agreement in faith. Therefore, any Churches which agreed upon the Creeds should fix some date in the fairly near future, after which all ordinations in the uniting churches should be administered jointly by an Episcopal bishop and those officers of the other Churches who under their rules administered ordinations, and after which all ministers should follow the same general form when administering the sacraments. Every man who had been ordained before that date and "whose ministry had been vouched for by God's blessing upon it," should finish his ministry undisturbed. Various men, representing the different uniting bodies, should be consecrated bishop and eventually do all the ordaining. This would ensure the continuation of the episcopal order and its distinctive witness.

Moreover, Lloyd thought the priest's office to be very im-

portant and departure from the general rule of ordination a serious thing. The essential thing about that office was not only that its incumbents were the trained and officially authorized spokesmen and teachers of the Church, and the authorized celebrants of its Eucharist, but also the witness afforded by its continuity from the first days of the Church's existence. At the very outset the Apostles had blessed, broken, and distributed the Bread; then that function had been allocated to the men who held the office sometimes called presbyter and sometimes priest. The continued succession of that office from the Apostles' day to the present was the principle witness to the Christ's promise that the consecrated elements would serve as His Body and Blood. Such a continuous priesthood the Episcopal Church had. It was another valuable contribution it could make to other Churches with which it might unite. It seems probable that Lloyd thought the Presbyterian and Lutheran ministries preserved the same continuity, though this is an inference from his general line of reasoning which cannot be proven by quoting specific passages. By the same token it is doubtful if he thought other Protestant bodies had it.

But few things seemed more fatal to Lloyd than the current tendency to think of the Church in terms of the ordained ministry. The laity were far more numerous and their ministry of private prayer, public worship, and teaching, of witnessing to the Master by the quality of their lives and service, of trying to re-order the corporate life of society into harmony with the teachings and example of Christ, was every bit as important as the ministry of the clergy. To exalt the clergy over the laity in honor, to attach more importance to their witness, to give them more authority in forming policies or governing the Church except as they individually deserved

it, seemed to him to run counter to the true nature of the Church as a fellowship of faith, obedience, and witness. It was Rome's old error of clericalism.

Lloyd was not persuaded by Marshall and others that acceptance of dogmas should be a prerequisite to Church membership. What was revealed by Christ about God, human nature, and the way of life he regarded as absolutely true and the starting point for all valid thinking. It was unalterable. But dogmas were the intellectualized statements of what had been thus revealed, important in proportion as they helped people to understand the Revelation. Though all people should reverently try to learn from the writings of the early Fathers and the declarations of the great Councils, these writings were in no wise forever binding, nor must adherence to their views be made a prerequisite to Church membership, for they were only attempts to explain rationally, in the categories of various periods, the Gospel's revelation. The explanation is never as important as that which is explained, and the Revelation was so far beyond any attempted explanation that each age must make its own. Membership in the Church should rest solely on the individual's trusting and trying to obey and using the sacraments, leaving him free to express his understanding as best he could. Consequently, at the very time he was most strongly upholding Catholicity he was encouraging some so-called Modernists in their efforts to secure fullest liberty of interpreting the Revelation.

Fundamentally, this disagreement from Marshall went back to a different attitude toward the Bible, though they did not discuss that question. To Lloyd the career of Jesus was *the* Revelation, entirely *sui generis*. The account of His life and teachings, therefore, was on a different level from all other writings. The rest of the New Testament was very nearly of

equal authority because it was written by men so close to the events and so obviously inspired to interpret their implications, and the Old Testament was very important in illustrating God's preliminary training of Israel. But all subsequent writings were quite different and had no authority at all comparable to the Bible, no more authority than the minds and consciences of men freely accorded them. In many respects deeply Christian and highly-enlightened moderns might be more adequate interpreters just because new knowledge in science and history might give better understanding of what the Lord revealed, especially concerning the way in which God worked and the way in which man should put into effect the type of relations Christ showed to be the really human ones.

This attitude toward dogmatic formulations of the meaning of Christ's revelation was at the base of Lloyd's unwavering opposition to the Church of Rome, which grew with the passing years. He recognized Rome as the strongest potential agent for Christ in the world because of its size and its efficient organization. He held it in high regard because it had kept the Revelation undiluted, had preserved the sacraments, the episcopate, and the priesthood. But he thought it was the chief cause of schisms in the Church. The pretensions of the papacy, its political schemings, and its moral deficiencies were the main reasons for the break between the East and the West and for the cleavages at the Reformation; those same pretensions, especially its claim to infallibility, were the worst obstacle to the reunion of Christendom. But more than schismatic, he thought the Church of Rome was actually heretical. Not only was the dogma of papal infallibility wholly contrary to the New Testament idea of the Church as a fellowship of faith and obedience; it was actually

pagan, for it ascribed to a creature what was a property of the Creator alone. And finally, Rome's clericalism violated the genius of the Apostolic Church, for it made the Church depend on the ministry, whereas the truth was the reverse. The Council of Trent and the Vatican Council of 1870 seemed to him the most disastrous events in the entire history of the Church. It is not strange that he was very little interested in schemes for reunion with Rome. Though it was altogether desirable it was wholly impossible, for he could not conceive of Rome's undergoing for many years a sufficient change of heart.

To Lloyd's mind the important features of the Church were all retained in his own Communion. He added that it was important for Protestant and Catholic to live together cordially, each enjoying fullest liberty of expression, not because tolerance was a virtue but because both interpretations were necessary for bringing out the fulness of the Revelation. To equate Christianity with either one of them was the essence of sectarianism, and it inevitably led in time to a perversion of the truth. Error came from exaggerating something which was right when kept in proper perspective. To promote such cordiality he urged that the Anglo-Catholics be given the right to use the American Missal and also that the Thirty-Nine Articles be retained in the Prayer Book as a permanent safeguard to Protestantism within the Episcopal Church. "Quietness and peace is the fruit of liberty." He rejoiced that the Episcopal Church retained the Orders and sacraments, and by the Prayer Book was securely anchored in the Faith. The longer he lived, the more highly he regarded that book. He valued it as an interpreter of the Bible and as the best instrument for teaching men how to pray, for the offices and collects made one pray as a member of Christ's

Body and for the advance of the Kingdom and the common good, which was the Christian conception of how men should pray, rather than as an individual seeking protection and special favors, which was the instinctive way to pray. He valued it because those saturated in it developed a religion that combined strong faith, ethical demands, and common sense.

The most serious weakness of the Episcopal Church was that it failed to vest adequate authority in its duly chosen leaders. Though the Council was doing the best it could to recruit the right sort of men and women for missionary work and to pay them an adequate salary, Lloyd was positive that sooner or later the Church must authorize it to draft the ones it wanted rather than wait for volunteers. The Church's officers ought to ask the best boys and girls in the senior classes of American colleges, not by general appeal but individually, to apply for service as clergymen, teachers, doctors, nurses. A condition for accepting any offer of service should be that the candidate would go wherever sent. Each spring the Council should decide where the men about to graduate from the seminaries were most needed and send them there. Those who volunteered for other types of service should be allocated similarly. Only so would the dioceses and districts be staffed with personnel adequate in caliber as well as numerically; only so could the Church do its appointed task more effectively. Lloyd was also convinced that if this were done the bulk of the Church's membership would have more respect for its work and more confidence in the missionaries, which, in turn, would result in more adequate support. Lloyd thought this "authority of drafting" should be lodged in the Council rather than in the bishops, for in this wise the full place of the laity in the government of the

Church would be maintained and also the bearers of the power would be men subject to recall rather than life officials.

But clergymen thus recruited in the colleges and assigned to their posts needed better preparation than they were getting. Lloyd had high appreciation for what the seminaries were doing, but he thought that in general they misconceived their function. The type of training they gave provided a good basis for a man who intended to pursue further studies so as to become a technical scholar in some branch of theology. But the seminaries were supposed to prepare men for the parish ministry, and for the parish ministry a man needed less technical scholarship than the seminaries tried to impart and much more training in how to do his job. "My complaint is that you try to instill too big a proportion of academic knowledge and too little of how to communicate their faith and serve the needs of their people."

For all his doubts about seminary training, Lloyd would never agree that the contemporary clergymen were inferior to those of earlier generations. One evening he and a few friends were discussing with admiration and affection the great ministry of Dr. Rainsford at St. George's Church, New York. One of them finally said with a sigh, "There were giants in those days." Lloyd immediately replied, "Yes; and there are just as big giants today but we rarely have the perspective to realize it. I being judge, Bowie is as great a preacher as any of them, and Aldrich is as good a pastor. St. George Tucker can't be beat."

Chapter XV

EVENTIDE

I.

LLOYD'S friends made much of his seventieth birthday, and even more of the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination and his wedding. Though many people had left New York for the summer, nearly five hundred attended the celebration of these latter events. Lloyd was the celebrant at a Communion service, assisted by Bishop Manning. At a luncheon given in their honor the Lloyds were presented with beautiful and appropriate gifts. Speeches were made commemorating their services to the Church and the diocese. Letters and telegrams came to him from all over the United States, and from overseas, and from members of several communions. From Manila Bishop and Mrs. Mosher cabled, "Your fifty years of originality, constructiveness, and love inspires admiration and love." A letter from Dr. Robert E. Speer, for many years head of the Presbyterian Board of Missions and an old friend, began, "My own very dear Bishop: I do not believe that anybody in the Episcopal Church thinks of you with more joy and love than I do, or feels toward you a truer or deeper respect and regard." The vestry of St. Luke's Church, Norfolk, telegraphed him; The National Council, the Woman's Auxiliary, and the Moderator of the Presbytery of New York sent special messages. Through everything that was said or written one note sounded: "We thank God for the years during which you have helped us to see the Master and to

know the wonders of his discipleship. You have sometimes had to be stern with us but always you have loved us and by the strength of your love showed us what it is to be a Christian man." In noting these anniversaries, the managing editor of *The Witness*, whose forceful comments constantly aroused opposition, wrote, "Bishop Lloyd is the most beloved man in the Church. That is probably the only statement this editor has ever made without any fear of contradiction."

But what the Lloyds enjoyed most of all in connection with these anniversaries was a gathering of all their children and grandchildren. In that company Mrs. Lloyd's delicate beauty took on added loveliness, and his love and pride for them all marked one of the happiest moments of his entire life.

In the winter of 1932 a number of people had engaged the Boston artist, Mr. William James, to paint Lloyd's portrait. Upon its completion it was hung in the Synod Hall. The Bishop had not been altogether favorable to the idea when it was first mentioned to him, but when he learned that all arrangements had been made he agreed. During the sittings his worst blow befell him. Mrs. Lloyd, who had never been strong, grew seriously ill. For several weeks she had to have both a day and a night nurse. She improved sufficiently to need only one, but the recovery lasted a very short time. She died in his arms on Easter Eve, March 26th. There was a private service in New York. Then the body was taken to Alexandria for burial.

Lloyd spoke of his wife's death as "a maiming." He had revered her as no other human, delighted in her company, depended upon her. He told one intimate friend that something snapped inside him when she died and that he suddenly felt old. But no private grief could interfere with his

duty, and on the day after her funeral he met all his scheduled appointments. People came to console him but he regarded their visits as opportunities which God had given him to help them. An Irishman who worked on the Cathedral grounds stopped in his office: before he left he had told Lloyd the whole story of his own domestic sorrows and went away with fresh courage to meet them.

Though his pastoral ministry continued unabated and though to some it seemed that he had even keener intuitive understanding and gave stronger help than ever, from the time of his wife's death Lloyd had to curtail his physical activities. He went to his office for only half a day, spending the rest of the time at his apartment on East 74th Street. The number of his visitations had to be reduced, which led him to tender his resignation. He was very frail and knew that he had angina, but he would never allow his daughters to be told lest it worry them. Though he had no fear of death, indeed at times he wished the end might come soon, he was anxious about the manner of his going. One morning he remarked to his secretary, "I hope it will not be given me to die in public where I'll give other people trouble." But no matter how weak, he never missed the early Communion service on Sunday at the nearby Church of the Resurrection. That service was what gave him strength to go through with the three visitations of the day.

He grew sad as he looked back over his life. He felt that he had not achieved anything definite by his efforts. The building of St. Luke's, Norfolk, burned and the parish merged with another in the same city. The National Council for which he had toiled was not developing in the direction he had hoped. The missionary work was less than it had been, due to the depression. No concrete activity or forward step

in the Diocese of New York was the fruit of his labors. Often he spoke of himself as a failure. At times he felt that this lack of tangible results was a mark of divine disfavor, and would review his life to discover if there were any unrepented sins, any disloyalties to be made good. The anniversary of his consecration was always marked by a self-examination based on the questions asked at the consecration, especially the last one, "Will you show yourself gentle, and be merciful for Christ's sake, to poor and needy people, and to all strangers destitute of help?"

Because he was limited physically Lloyd put more of his energy than ever into intercessory prayer. Frequently he would spend half a day "talking to the Head Office" as he put it, about particular missionaries, clergy, and lay folk of the Diocese of New York, individuals to whom he felt some bond or whom he knew to be in trouble. He would speak to his Father with complete freedom and concreteness. Among his papers was found a note in long hand, apparently written toward the end of his life, possibly in preparation for an address or perhaps simply as a summary of his own practice.

"The Christ Himself seemed to take it for granted that prayer should be the means through which His desires would be accomplished.

"He prayed Himself.

"He asked His friends to pray.

"He assured His friends that after He was withdrawn the Holy Spirit would show them and teach them—if they asked Him.

"To pray involves in the first place our listening to Him that we may be taught what He wants done.

"We must know how to pray and be careful that we are neither presumptuous nor irreverent. For the first, we must

see to it that we are anxious to accomplish what He wants done and not what we think would be worth while. This is accomplished by seeing to it that we are jealous to keep ourselves for His use; *i.e.*, that we prefer to have Him use us as He wills than to please ourselves.

"The other is attained by making ourselves ready to pray.

"1. We ought to become still, and our mind and body should be quiet.

"2. We should make ourselves ready by contemplation of His sacrifice and by reading His words.

"3. We should acquaint ourselves with the terms in which the saints have expressed their faith and aspirations and desires to be found faithful.

"4. All should be identified with, and as it were our preparation for, having worthy part in the intercessions of the whole Body of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament.

"No one should be afraid of being too explicit or too personal in his petitions or intercessions. He did it Himself. He invited His friends to imitate Him. He used every means to make us understand that the Father was as much concerned as we are, and that the Father's heart is breaking more than ours on account of the sufferings of His children."

He prayed also whenever anybody came into his room, quickly commending that person to God and offering himself to be used by God in the ensuing interview in whatever way God desired. The intensity with which he felt the importance of prayer was revealed in a conversation with his secretary at a time when she was writing many letters for him, soliciting funds for the Kuling School.

"Did you make your prayers while writing those letters for Kuling?"

"No."

"Then how can you expect a blessing on them, child? Did you make your prayers for those friends of ours on the train coming up to town?"

"No."

"Why not? What did you spend your time doing that was more important than talking to the Head Office?"

2.

Lloyd was not strong enough to attend the meeting of the General Convention at Atlantic City in October, 1934. While it was in session both Houses took appropriate notice of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration as bishop.

General Convention met in an atmosphere of gloom. The depression had greatly lessened the income of some of the most generous supporters of the Church and had made others so fearful that they reduced their gifts far more than their reverses necessitated. The great company of small contributors were forced to cut their offerings. As a result there was a deficit of over three-quarters of a million dollars. The Convention pared the missionary budget to the bone. It said that \$2,700,000 was what was needed each year of the ensuing triennium if the work were not to be curtailed, but that as it saw no chance of receiving that amount the appropriations must be put at \$2,313,115, warning the Church that that represented the irreducible minimum necessary to prevent drastic crippling.

During 1935 Lloyd made his last great effort for the Church's mission. He did everything in his power to raise funds through correspondence, private interviews, addresses, and letters to the Church press; with an eye to the future, he proposed that if any diocese came short of its proportionate

share its bishop should be required to explain to the House of Bishops why it had failed, and what efforts he had made personally; and that similarly, rectors of delinquent parishes should be compelled to justify themselves to their diocesan conventions. In December, 1935, the shortage was \$126,500. The National Council accordingly issued a general appeal to all members for supplementary gifts. Lloyd read the tragic news. He realized that if the amount were not given there would be further cuts in 1936. He knew that the salaries, traveling and educational allowances of all missionaries had already been cut ten per cent, and that further reductions would necessitate sending some of them home and letting their life efforts collapse. Such reduction of the staff would mean doubling the loads others were already carrying; it would mean abandoning work founded and nourished by heroic self-sacrifice; it would entail throwing away superb opportunities to testify to the Christ. After a little thought he wrote the President of the Council.

"Something has got to be done.

"I have been wondering ever since I put down *The Spirit of Missions* what was my part.

"My conclusion is to send you a check for one thousand dollars, part of a gift that was made to me on my seventieth birthday. I had thought that when I had to stop work I would use it to provide me a place where I could spend the rest of my days in quiet. But first things must come first, and I have a feeling that if you put this in the treasury you can find a hundred and twenty-six other people who will give you a like check.

"I hope the other hundred and twenty-six will show their hands promptly. Make your prayers."

Lloyd wrote this letter for the President's eye only. But

when the time came for the final appeal, the officers of the Council begged him for permission to make his gift public, along with the action of Bishop Rowe, the veteran missionary in Alaska, who had telegraphed, "Take my salary. There is nothing else to be cut." Lloyd at first refused. It seemed that to comply would be to incur the Master's condemnation of those who "did their alms in public to be seen of men." But they persisted, saying that the news of what he had done would be the mightiest sort of stimulus to others to give generously. At last he consented.

The news was published in all the Church papers. It had an electrifying effect. The officers judged that it was the chief factor in getting the rest of the contributions. But though Lloyd had to admit that his action had helped, he never ceased to feel that it had savored of self-advertising. He wrote to Dr. Wood, "It made me feel as if I had been required to leave off my clothes. While you are making your prayers for the Church and its prosperity, slip in a petition that I may be forgiven. I spoiled what I attempted to do by assenting to Bishop Cook's publishing it. . . . What a pity we get in the way of what we are trying to do."

This gift represented one-third of Lloyd's total capital. The pension granted him by National Council he regarded as a trust which he must administer for the Church. Of his salary he laid aside one-tenth at the beginning of the year for the Lord's work. And during the year his benefactions were numerous. A man came to him in distress and besought a loan for six months. Lloyd advanced him \$400 out of his own pocket. After some time he asked for repayment. His letter was never answered. He wrote again, saying that he was not hurt by the loss but that for the sake of the man's own integrity he ought to repay a loan, or at least explain why he could not

and ask for an extension. The borrower never acknowledged the letter, never wrote his thanks, but was one of those who protested at "the double remuneration of the senior suffragan bishop." Every year Lloyd sent \$100 to one of the bishops in China for the support of the widow of a Chinese priest who had been murdered by the Communists; to lonely missionaries whose salaries had been cut, he sent such checks as he could; to the Brotherhood of St. Andrew and the City Missionary Society his pocketbook was open whenever there was anything in it. He died poor.

3.

During the autumn of 1935 Dr. John Wood lay seriously ill in a hospital for some months. Beside thinking his death would be a serious blow to the Church, Lloyd loved him as an intimate friend with whom he had worked shoulder to shoulder for twenty years, and with whom he had kept constantly in close touch after their association at "281" had been broken. Every day he called for the latest bulletins. As often as Wood could see him he visited the hospital, and whenever Wood desired to receive the Holy Communion Lloyd took it to him. Nothing in his later career gave him more unfeigned pleasure than thus to minister to his friend. When Wood recovered sufficiently to go to the North Carolina mountains to recuperate, Lloyd wrote him delightful letters.

"Please thank Bishop Touret (the rector of the parish where Wood was) and his wife for me and ask them not to trust you. Tell them that you are not as honest as you look and that if he does not keep a strong hand on you you will be getting back into the evil mental attitude that makes you think you have to run the world.

"If you will give me your honest promise that you will regard it as your first religious obligation to loaf for three months, it will do me more good than for you to worry about my having somebody to run the elevator in my apartment.

"I wish I were there. It would give me a chance to sit down and spin some theories to a man who, however lacking in ability to appreciate them, has the grace to make believe he is listening while I talk.

"You will get well quickly if you are reverent to your body. I wish I could make you develop even a little of that quality which is so admirable and convincing a proof that a man has intelligence. . . ."

All his life Lloyd had proclaimed that truest happiness was the result of appreciating the lovely and interesting things immediately around one; always he had practiced what he preached to an unusual degree. When in the middle of the beautiful scenery of the West Virginia mountains he spent hours enjoying it; always he had found in the people he was thrown with something of real interest; when he had the time for considerable reading he reveled in books. Toward the end, his love for natural beauty reasserted itself. One day his secretary put a single red rose on his desk. Its beauty and fragrance delighted him. He spoke to her about it so much that she brought another the next day. This provoked Lloyd to say to her that he had not realized how completely one rose changed an office and that he wanted her always to have one on his desk. He gave her a small sum for it, asking with an apologetic smile if she did not think he was justified in this little extravagance which carried him back in memory to the garden at Mount Ida. So far as anybody could discover it was the one luxury beside cigarettes in which he indulged himself.

He found intense pleasure also in the pigeons which lived near the Cathedral. In warm weather he would bring from his apartment a few slices of bread or peanuts or dried peas, and as he walked to his office across the Close he would stop to feed them. Soon they got to know him, some perching on his shoulders, others waiting near him expectantly. In the winter he would put food for them on the ledge outside the window of his office. One very cold day he was busy with his correspondence. As he was in the middle of dictating an answer to an important official letter he heard a strange noise. Looking up, he saw a pigeon trying to scratch through the crust of ice that had formed atop the ledge and covered the crumbs. Immediately he stopped his dictation, with an old knife and ruler broke up the ice, and put down a few dried peas. "Poor bird," he muttered, "I know how I'd feel if my food was frozen over and I had nothing but my finger nails to dig it out." After making sure that the pigeon had returned to feed, he remarked with a smile of vast satisfaction, "Isn't it nice to be able to do something for the birds," and then resumed his dictation.

In these latter days Lloyd frequently remarked that he thought life in New York was essentially abnormal. People were completely separated from things elemental. They had no contact with agriculture, the most fundamental of all human operations; they were insulated from the powers of nature by enormous buildings, furnaces, sidewalks; they were defrauded from the primary and permanent simple joys of life by a too hectic pace, by too much organization, and by a surfeit of artificial entertainments. The life he had known in Virginia seemed to him much closer to the sort of existence for which people were intended. Values were kept straighter and first things put first. "The older I grow the

more I realize how few things really matter," he wrote one of his daughters. His friends were not surprised to hear him speak of retiring to some house near the Virginia Seminary when the time came to cease active work. He thought he might be of some use to the students and that the faculty might allow him to take services occasionally in the Chapel; "a nice way to end the day, eh?"

During the spring of 1936 Lloyd grew weaker. Though he continued to meet his Sunday engagements it was frequently with difficulty. That May his birthday came on Sunday. He had two services, and at one of them confirmed a very large class which visibly tired him. During the next week he felt unwell. The doctor forbade him to go to the office. His secretary came to his apartment for a while each morning, and a few visitors were permitted to see him. Mid-June was excessively hot. His daughter, Mrs. Hadden, took him for a time to her country home at Darien, Connecticut, where he improved sufficiently to return to New York and resume his visitations. On Sunday, July 5th, he went to the early service at the Church of the Resurrection. His morning appointment was at Dobbs Ferry, some thirty miles outside New York. For the only time in his career he permitted his secretary to hire a car to take him to his destination. After the service, at which he preached as well as confirmed, he attended a birthday party in the rectory. That evening he had another service, this time in New York.

On Monday morning he felt quite ill. Mrs. Hadden and her son came to lunch. While they were there his physician called. Together they persuaded him to go back to the country. For ten days he seemed to benefit from the change and enjoyed seeing the children. Everybody in the household tried to make sure that he was not disturbed. Then on Thurs-

day, the 16th, quite a number of people called and the effort to see them wearied him greatly. By Saturday his family knew it was a losing fight. Tuesday night he was desperately ill and in great pain, and Mr. Hadden notified all the family that the end was very near. He was too weak to speak much, though he smiled at those who came into his room, three of his daughters, two sons-in-law, his secretary. Early in the afternoon of Wednesday the 22nd he died.

Dressed in the vestments in which he had been consecrated, the hands that had blessed so many crossed over his chest, all expression of pain gone from his face, a smile humorous and tender on his lips, he seemed to those who saw him as he lay in his casket beautiful with the beauty of holiness.

In accordance with a frequently expressed wish, there was no funeral service for him in New York. His body was taken to Alexandria. In old Christ Church—the church in which he had been baptized, confirmed, and consecrated bishop, from which he had buried his son and his wife—the funeral was held. Friends who had known him and loved him filled the building. In the procession walked the clergy of nearby churches, the two bishops of Virginia, one of whom Lloyd had regarded almost as a son, the other of whom he had helped to consecrate. The casket, covered by a pall of ivy with an armful of loose red roses, was carried by two sons-in-law and six grandsons. Two other sons-in-law read the service and Bishop Tucker pronounced the benediction. A volunteer choir sang *Onward Christian Soldiers* and the *Gloria in Excelsis*. The entire congregation went from the church to Ivy Hill Cemetery where he was buried beside his wife.

So Arthur Lloyd returned to his own earth and his own people.

A few days after his death one who was very close to him wrote: "It is beautiful and blessed for him. He has suffered very much more than he has admitted even to himself and was so very tired. For the past two years, as a matter of fact, he has been much more ill than anybody realized, with a margin of strength that was so easily exhausted. It has been very hard going, and even to the end he didn't spare himself as he should. But his satisfaction was in the way he poured himself out for us all. I know his Master was waiting to welcome him, for he truly and consciously walked with God."

As soon as the news of his death became public, letters of affectionate appreciation began to pour in. One man said, "It doesn't seem possible. Like music and sunlight I felt he would always be here; a lovely, quiet part of God in the hustle of living. To him I owe more than I can express. For many of us he will never really be away for always; he lives on in our hearts, checking impetuosity, seeing the fine ideals beyond the petty small things, and saying, 'Come now, buck up and be a man.'

"He was a man who walked this earth and saw this earth through the eyes of God."

A missionary who had gone to China at Lloyd's request wrote, "His encouragement and the letters that made me feel so humble in his overwhelming appreciation of my small share in the work here, have often swung me over the times when burdens pressed heavily, and one had only to think of him to know it was possible to go on and to go on with joy."

Memorial services were held in various parts of the world, and resolutions were adopted by the many organizations with which he had been associated. Of all the tributes paid him

none was more apt than the closing sentence of the Minute adopted by the Board of the New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society: "What this Society, engaged as it is in the evangelical ministry of Christ's compassion to the humble and poor, would most remember is the spirit of this man who wherever he went carried on his face the reflection of the face of Christ."

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